The Dewan Peishkar, Quilon, telegraphs :

"Regarding floods information so far received shows considerable damage to crops in Mavelikara. Slight damages Tiruvalla no loss of life or property."

That is about all the information we have at present. If you consider upon that information a useful debate can proceed, I am prepared to allow you to do so and shall fix 3 o'clock this afternoon for discussion.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*) : My adjournment motion relates to the untimely and heavy rainfall. It does not relate to floods.

PRESIDENT : It relates to the same thing. Do you wish that the motion should be discussed ?

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*) : Yes.

MR. KAYALAM PARAMESVARAN PILLAI (*Additional Head Sirkar Vakil*) : Leave has not yet been granted by the House.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*) : Nobody has opposed it. Unless it is opposed there is no necessity to ascertain the wish of the House.

PRESIDENT: But I have got to place the information, *i. e.*, the reports of the Dewan Peishkars, before the House. I will therefore read them again.

TELEGRAM DATED 25-4-1929 FROM THE DEWAN PEISHKAR, KOTTAYAM.

No flood etc., Parur, Kunnatnad, Todupuzha, Muvattupuzha, Shertallai, Minachil taluks slight damages to puncha crops Kottayam taluk due to untimely rains. Shall wire information regarding Changanachery, Vaikam.

TELEGRAM DATED 26-4-29 FROM THE DEWAN PEISHKAR, QUILON.

Regarding floods information so far received shows considerable damage to crops in Mavelikara slight damages Tiruvalla no loss of life or property. Other Tahsildars' reports awaited.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*) : What I beg to submit is that there is no reference to floods in my adjournment motion. It only refers to untimely rains.

PRESIDENT : These are the two telegrams which refer to untimely rains also. That is all the information that the House will have before it upon which to proceed with the discussion of the adjournment motion.

MR. K. GEORGE (*Chief Secretary to Government*) : Sir, I object to the motion being discussed. My point is that we have not sufficient materials for a useful debate being held on the subject.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*) : I would like to know the result of my adjournment motion tabled yesterday.

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PRESIDENT: Members who support the motion will kindly rise in their places, please.

The motion is lost as there are not 20 members to support it.

We will now proceed to the discussion on resolution No. 15 in the agenda list.

MR. K. C. KARUNAKARAN (*Nominated*): Sir, I rise to support the resolution which was so ably moved by my friend Mr. Asan yesterday and which has been characterised by our learned Professor Rao Bahadur Rangaswami Aiyangar as inaccurate, comprehensive and utopian. For a long time past, Sir, those who are acquainted with the economic condition of the State have been crying for an economic survey of the State. As a result of this cry, some years ago, Dr. Barker undertook to conduct an industrial survey which I think was not quite complete; yet it was responsible for some of the industrial developments in the State. I do not want to enter into a detailed discussion of the contents of that report; but still with regard to the development of some of the raw materials of this State it has done immense good for Travancoreans. I am emphasising this point so much, because I have closely studied, with regard to some of the industries which he suggested and I myself undertook, the development of some of these industries. When such an incomplete report as Dr. Barker's has done so much good to the country as a whole, I am sure an economic survey of the State will do greater good for the general good of the country and especially for those people who are engaged in the practical economic development of this State.

Just like Professor Rangaswami Aiyangar, I was also concerned with the arm-chair economic principles for some time and I know, Sir, what an economic professor or economic leader can get during his time of work. I distinctly draw a distinction between the theoretical economists who are concerned with volumes of Nicholson or Marshal and the practical economists who put their shoulders to the wheel. We should face hard economic facts and we have to find out a solution for such economic problems. We will take 25 years to complete an economic survey of the State according to Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar. On this ground it is not advisable for us to give up this question at all. My contention is that 25 years do not matter much. We will take that time limit and try to do something in every year and if what we do in one year proves to be good to the people, we will continue that work. Then I say, Government and those who are concerned with economic survey, are doing a great thing not only for this generation but for our successors. I do not think this House needs any elaborate discussion with regard to the needs of such a general economic survey of the State. I do not see much difference between an economic survey "of" the State or economic survey "in" the State. We are sure, Sir, that we are not going to conduct an economic survey "outside" the State. We are surely going to make an economic survey "in" the State. Perhaps Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar thinks that if we modify the resolution for making an economic survey in the State, he may content with the survey of 7 or 8 or a dozen villages and stop it. Conducting an

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economic survey of the State itself can be interpreted as making a survey of the entire State. Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar threatened us by saying that a survey of the State will cost millions of pounds and that it will take years to complete. As a practical man, I find that his view is not correct. All he says is nothing but theory and the wonder is when he says that he has never heard of such an economic survey in the whole world. I must ask him to turn over the economic pages of Germany. Perhaps he is ignorant of Germany where there is a survey conducted of the entire census of production once in ten years.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): Then, why does he condemn an economic survey by arm-chair economists. May I know whether census of production is a complete economic survey?

MR. K. C. KARUNAKARAN (*Nominated*): What I mean is this. What is Travancore when compared to the extent of the German territory? In my opinion, if a census of production is possible in Germany, an economic survey of the State is possible in Travancore once in ten years.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): What I want to know is whether census of production is a complete economic survey?

MR. K. C. KARUNAKARAN (*Nominated*): I think it is extremely necessary that the Government should vote with us in getting through this resolution. I am not going to tell you the practical difficulties with which we are confronted. I may tell you one instance which Mr. Lampard also knows very well. A few weeks ago, one of the biggest London firms which has specialised in all kinds of fibres was touring from Alleppey to Quilon. On their way, while going through Kayankulam, Mr. Bethell, as soon as he saw a screwpine mat, stopped the car and arrested my attention to that and asked me the details of that. As a result of the conversation between us, he gave me a sample order for screwpine mats to the extent of thousand pounds. Really, I did not know before about this at all. I was all along trying to find the place where screwpine mats are manufactured.

The other day, I approached the Director of Industries to know where an expert weaver can be had. These are the practical things which men like me who are engaged in hard economic facts have to experience. Ordinary men are not able to know these things. It is for this purpose that we want an economic survey. I do not think for a moment that the survey will take 25 years to complete. We want to know the real natural resources of the State and how they can be developed and how they can be profitably marketed. Sir, till now, none of the Indians was engaged in the export of pepper. Pepper being a big commodity we must be in touch with its estimate for the crop next year. Now you may ask how this is being done. It is being done by the private agencies. European agencies spend thousands of rupees every year. Two or three persons travel during the pepper season and estimate the crop. Do you think that a man with a limited capital

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[Mr. K. C. Karunakaran.]

can start an enquiry of this kind? No, certainly not. That is the reason why we are approaching the Government to do the work of economic survey. If Government delegate this work to a firm which commands milliards of pounds like the Harrisons and Crosfield, then I am sure they will undertake the work.

Then Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar was saying that the Economic Development Board had taken up this question and submitted a report for expert economic advice and read out some portions from his report. He took special care not to read to the House the reply he received from the Board and I should like to know something of the reply.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): As a point of personal explanation, I did mention yesterday that this matter was considered by the Government and the Government came to the conclusion that the recommendations of the Board were amateurish and that such casual investigations are of no value. Hence, the Government vetoed the recommendation.

MR. K. C. KARUNAKARAN (*Nominated*): Then again, large problems like wages, working hours, relationship between employer and employé are coming up every day. For a proper solution of these problems, we must know the real situation in the country about the working class. We cannot get this situation, either from the statistics published by the Government or from the departmental reports of the Industrial Department. Then there are strikes in the firms. They sometimes last for weeks together. Two weeks back, a strike was set up in Messrs. Good-Acres and Sons. A few thousands of rupees were lost both to the wage earning class and to the Company and I do not know how many thousands will be lost if the strike continues. When we take all these facts into consideration, I think it is necessary that we should have an economic survey of the State.

Another point is that competition in business is getting keener and more hard and as a result we have to go into new industries. I know there are many industries here which can be developed provided we are assured of the raw materials. As my friend Mr. Bethell told me, if we can develop the raw materials for screwpine mats, we can send the raw materials to Hongkong for making fine finished articles.

According to me this economic survey should help us to know exactly the position of our raw materials and how they can be profitably developed and marketed. We can also know the economic condition of the various classes of industrial organisations of the main industries in the State. I am sure my friend Mr. Asan does not think for a moment that this economic survey should take into consideration every inch of land in Travancore. We can easily take typical villages and typical industries and by a generalisation get into a definite idea and from there, we can get a good report about the economic position. We can also know then how they can be developed and how the Government

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can help the people. In this connection this side of the House would like to hear the views of Mr. Lampard and experts like Dr. Kunjan Pillai, Mr. Chacko and Mr. Vidyalingam Pillai.

RAO BAHADUR K. A. KRISHNA AIYANGAR (*Nominated, Deputy President*): Sir, it is not without considerable misgivings that I rise to support the resolution of Mr. Asan. Let me tell you at the outset that I do not claim any expert knowledge of the questions involved in the economic survey of the State. And rightly Mr. Karunakaran did not include my name in the list of those whose expert advice he solicited. For several years together we have been hearing of the claim put forward on behalf of the people and the answer is invariably, you have not got the right man to tackle this subject. In the course of his very learned and lucid address which was characterised by incisive and faultless logic. Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar, while opposing, the resolution on behalf of Government, never suggested that such a survey was not necessary. He never suggested that such a survey was not desirable. He never suggested that such a survey would not be really helpful for strengthening the economic position of the country. A few difficulties he pointed out and I am prepared to recognise some force in his arguments. The one difficulty he pointed out to begin with was, you have not got the necessary expert staff to deal with it. Well, if you have not got that, alright get it down. The next thing is, it will be very expensive and he expressed a doubt, whether the Council, when the Government approach for supplies, would be prepared to sanction the expenditure. If, as a matter of fact, Government started an economic enquiry on a resolution recommended by this House for the consideration of Government, there need not be any serious misgivings with regard to the attitude of the Council in the matter of sanctioning the necessary expenditure.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): That is the case in regard to the small staff.

RAO BAHADUR K. A. KRISHNA AIYANGAR (*Nominated, Deputy President*): I think it will be much fair if he had taken into account the final result instead of emphasising the objection put forward by one of the members for eliciting information, for ascertaining whether after all it was not possible to work the prohibition scheme with the existing staff. (Mr. K. P. Nilakanta Pillai: *Hear, hear.*) As a result of the discussion it was withdrawn. There was a large volume of opinion in support of the demand made by the Excise Commissioner and I do not think those arguments should be noticed at great length. Let my friend take it from me that this House is not going to withhold supplies for carrying out one of the measures recommended by it.

Then the next thing he said was that it would take a very long period if an absolutely scientific economic survey of the State is to be carried out and by the time the conclusions are formulated, all that scientific data would be out of date and that we would have to start the work once again. With very great respect for my learned friend, I am prepared to recognise that he is one of the authoritied in Economics in this part

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[Rao Bahadur K. A. Krishna Aiyangar.]

the Presidency, conceding at the same time that my only qualification to speak on the subject is of one who has had considerable experience of the conditions of the country and of the conditions of the masses. It appears to me, Sir, that this is arguing in a vicious circle. He says it is good, it is desirable, it is necessary. His point is that it is an experiment which would take at the end of which the conclusions would a long long time be out of date. After all, are the conclusions of these experts absolutely faultless? Do all experts agree? Do two doctors agree? Do all lawyers agree? There is nothing sacrosanct about expert economists, any more than the sacred character of the experts in other branches of technical knowledge. Something has to be done. The stern realities that we have to face are, what is the income of the country as a whole? What is the tax-paying capacity of the people? How does the incidence of taxation affect the population? Is it the man who is really able to pay, that is taxed? Or is it the man who is unable to pay, that is taxed? What is the extent of the agricultural indebtedness in the country? What are the measures necessary for improvements in industry? What are the articles of trade and commerce in which the country largely deals? What are the difficulties which handicap us in the matter of competing with other people? What are the remedies that may be suggested consistent with our means? Well, Sir, some of these questions certainly can be enquired into experts will take up the enquiry with a little imagination and sympathy. That question, Sir, of the income of an average Indian was considered by Mr. Dadabai Naoroji from investigations made in Bombay and he put the figure at 28 Rupees. Lord Curzon found that it was a mistake and he put the figure at 50 rupees a year. Well, Dr. Gilbert Slater, the first Economic Professor of the Madras University, put it at 75 rupees. All those figures give you the minimum and the maximum. Now we have some idea of this. I do not mean to say that absolute accuracy can be arrived at in any of these things. Human nature and human intellect are subject to certain peculiarities which prevent us all from jumping into very same conclusions on questions that are placed before the House. Happily for us, human nature and human intellect are so diverse. There is ample ground for discussion and agreement. In a case of that nature if absolute scientific accuracy cannot be reached in every field of activity we shall not for one moment quarrel with our economic experts if they do not tell us accurately. These are absolute truths, immutable for all times, unchangeable for all times, like the laws of the beasts and birds. If that is the case the mistake lies with us. We are innocent. I think, Sir, some measure of help certainly it is possible for us to place, which would be of use to the Government and to the members of the Legislature. I am one of those, Sir, who get easily contented. If 16 annas in the rupee are my just due, I will be content with 4 annas and ask for the remaining 12 annas to be paid to me in easy instalments. Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar said if only Mr. Asan would make a slight change by putting the word 'in' instead

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of 'of', then he would be prepared to accept it. Personally I have no objection to it. As I said, if by the acceptance of the amendment proposed the Government machinery could be started to work out some at least of the economic problems, I shall be haypy. It is certainly desirable to start it at once without any further delay. To say that we should wait for 50 years is unnecessary. At the end of 50 years a complete change might come to every aspect of the conclusions reached. Economic science is as much a progressive science. Nothing is immutable. It may change and it does change. Very well, it may be an experiment, costly experiment. That is how really valuable knowledge is being accumulated for the benefit of the people. It is not every experiment that is attended with success. It may be a failure; experiment well, again failure, experiment again. Money spent in that direction should not be grudged by any one who is anxious for the acquisition of expert knowledge in all these matters. That being so, Sir, I am not questioning the soundness of the arguments put forward by Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar. I for one would be perfectly satisfied if some activities in the direction feasible with the limited resources at our disposal and with the limited economic staff at our disposal be started at an early date instead of telling us that the present is a cry for the moon and all that. I support the resolution before the House.

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): Sir, I also support the resolution moved by Mr. Asan. While supporting the motion, Sir, I am very glad that even the Deputy President spoke today accepting the good intention of the mover of this resolution and the principle underlying it. But yesterday, Sir, even though there was a remark by the learned opposer of this resolution that the members on this side of the House have a special knack in making good things illusory, I submit, Sir, that there are some members on the other side of the House who have the peculiar knack of confusing issues and presenting before the House unimaginable difficulties everywhere. (*Hear, hear.*) Sir, yesterday I was more surprised to hear the learned opposer's speech. He opposed Mr. Asan's resolution by a speech of a highly literary type. His speech was mainly, if I may be permitted to say so, of a highly literary flower, full of diversions and digressions and he incorporated into his speech small bits of extraneous knowledge which had no bearing on the question which was to be discussed here. (*Hear, hear.*) Sir, Dr. Gilbert Slater conducted an economic survey in Southern India. We are not concerned here about the particular day on which Dr. Gilbert Slater was knighted, but it is relevant here to remember that I heard some years back while I was at Trichy that Professor Rangaswami Aiyangar and Father Carty were well qualified to be invested with demi-godships in Economics. Sir, the Professor expected me to accept his statement that he is a professor and an authority on economics. Therefore, when he has said that the resolution is impracticable, it has to be accepted as an authoritative statement. Sir, it is a weak argument. I expected not one of the demi-gods of Southern India in Economics to come forward to this House and say 'because you are prepared to accept

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[Mr. K. P. Nilakanta Pillai.]

me as an authority on economics, you must take my statement that it is not possible to conduct a survey.' As usual he made a very long speech. But when reduced to simple language the members of this House know that it contains only two points, namely, he saw lions in the way of proceeding with the resolution, and, secondly, he cannot see the nature of the expenditure involved if the resolution is to be carried out. Excepting these I do not find any other argument placed before this House against the resolution which has to be discussed by the members on this side of the House. Sir, even with these two arguments I submit his statements were contradictory. First of all, the learned opposer said that certain typical villages were selected in Southern India and an economic survey was conducted and those villages were selected by experts. Therefore we will have to employ a large number of experts to undertake this work and consequently we will have to incur a large expenditure. Again, Sir, a casual question elicited the information—

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): I did not say that, Sir.

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): Sir, a casual question elicited the information that the typical villages were selected by experts. The final results proved that the villages were not the proper villages. Therefore the expert opinion of Gilbert Slater was—

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): A word of personal explanation. What I said, according to my recollection was this: I said notwithstanding that certain villages have been chosen subsequent results of Gilbert Slater challenged the Government that the villages were not the proper villages.

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): That is exactly what I said. There is this difficulty confronting our Government. Even though we are compelled to use expert opinions, there is a narrowness of vision which experts in our State possess; they are generally following the footsteps of other experts employed in other parts of India for investigation of a local character without considering properly the local peculiarity of the situation in our State. I ask the question even if the resolution is amended as the learned opposer suggested by putting instead of 'of in' the State, will it be of any use? Sir, considering the local conditions of Travancore, is it possible for us to pick up certain villages as typical villages? I ask the question where is the village system existing in Travancore. Except in some parts of southernmost Travancore, who had organised the village system in Travancore? Which is the department or which is the agency that is organising the village life? Even if the expert is going to pick up villages which will reduce the difficulties when the survey is conducted, where are the typical villages to be selected? Again he is labouring under a mistaken notion. Even if a few typical villages could be selected, it is not possible to arrive at a conclusion which would apply to the whole State. The next question is about the expenditure involved. If the country wants it and if our coffers

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are overflowing with money, why not spend the money if the results are useful not only to the present generation but also to succeeding generations? Sir, there are not reliable statistics to proceed with. Administrators in Travancore say it is prosperous Travancore. But we unfortunate men on this side of the House say there is no prosperity in Travancore. Who is to challenge this position? What are the figures? Therefore everybody who could make a long speech can say Travancore is prosperous. There is no test to decide which statement is true. Therefore the main fact which I wanted to place before this House is whatever may be the amount of expenditure involved in carrying out this resolution the House is of opinion that it may serve a purpose and that purpose may be useful to the country not only for the present time but also for some time to come, we should not stinch any money without minding the modifications suggested by the learned opposer of the resolution. The next thing, Sir, is let us consider what is exactly the situation of the rural population in Travancore. Who could say with any amount of certainty as to the standard of life led by common men in Travancore? What is his income per year or per mensem; and whether the trade and commerce of the country are properly organised? Whether these require organisation and whether the import and export require control or if the people are really struggling and if poverty is very great in the country, what are the remedial measures to be adopted; whether the natural resources of the State are properly exploited and in the right lines? These are things which may be collected by an economic survey and which are suggested by the mover of this resolution. I do not doubt that these facts will be contested by anybody. Anybody can say because our income is two crores and more the country is prosperous, or if the income goes down the country is not prosperous. The prosperity and non-prosperity do not come like a windfall. We are not concerned with a particular year or a particular period. But we want to know what our economic position is. It is also contended by Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar that population is increasing in the country and this increase is of a unique nature. Therefore is it not necessary for the coming generation that we should place some kind of check on the increase of population or on the influx of population?

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): Sir, a word of personal explanation. I do not recollect having made any reference to the increase of population.

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): If the member has not said that, I say that the population in Travancore has enormously increased and the increase is unique in the whole of Travancore. I take the responsibility for that statement.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): Is it right to attribute to me statements which I did not make?

PRESIDENT: He is not making that statement.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): But he has not withdrawn that statement.

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MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): I am quite prepared to withdraw any statement which the member would protest that he has not made in this House yesterday. Because the member has protested against the statement I withdraw it and make that statement on my own responsibility.

Therefore the opposer of the resolution has not stated what were the difficulties. He simply goes on saying that there are difficulties everywhere—difficulties—difficulties—difficulties. What are the difficulties we were not told, Sir. What I, in short, want to submit to the House is, whatever may be the difficulties, whatever may be the nature of the expenditure involved, if it is going to improve the prosperity of the people of Travancore, it should be undertaken. If experts are not available in Travancore, experts may be got down. With these words, I support the resolution of Mr. Asan.

The Council adjourned for lunch at 1-58 P. M. and reassembled at 3 P. M. with the Deputy President in the chair.

MR. A. THANU PILLAI (*Trivandrum*): The only member who spoke against the resolution thus far is Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar who spoke on behalf of Government. His objection so far as I could understand was that if an economic survey is to be made at all it should be a perfect one. I think he used the words a thoroughly scientific one. According to him it is impossible to attain perfection in this matter and so the idea is not acceptable. That was the only objection taken to this resolution; and the difficulty to attain perfection in this matter was traced to two causes, one, the difficulty of finding the necessary funds and the other, the necessary number of experts. As for the funds even his exaggerated estimate—

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): I wish to be informed if Mr. Thanu Pillai says that I wanted to have a whole survey or not.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: You just put your own construction to it when it comes to your turn.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): If he says that, I will have to give just a word of personal explanation. I said no such thing.

MR. A. THANU PILLAI (*Trivandrum*): The expenditure he has given, I think, must be an exaggerated figure. I say so from the way in which he reasoned out his case. His estimate was about fifty lakhs of rupees and that, according to him, will have to be spread over a period of twenty-five years. If that is the cost and if the result will be what he says it will be, I for one should say that fifty lakhs of rupees is nothing and if it is a question of twenty-five years, I ask what is the harm? He wanted twenty-five years for its completion. Of course, during this period we would be getting the data available on account of the work that is being conducted and to that extent the State will be benefited. Then he raised the objection that the figures obtained in the earlier stages of the survey would be antiquated at the time we complete it. Yes. Sir, I ask, did not the Travancore Government conduct

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the Land Revenue Settlement? What was the period taken? We all know the history of that. On the ground of delay Government did not give up the idea of effecting a settlement.

MR. MATTHEW MURIKKAN (*Vaikam*): Does the member think that the Revenue Settlement enquiry is almost equal to the economic survey?

MR. A. THANU PILLAI (*Trivandrum*): My friend should not understand that I accept the exaggerated statements made by Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar. I shall assume for a moment that they are all literally true, that the survey will take twenty years and 50 lakhs of rupees. I for one would say that still we can do it. But, as I said already, these figures are highly exaggerated. His position was that highly specialised experts have alone any business to approach this subject. He deplores that people who cannot claim to have a sufficient amount of specialised knowledge are offering advice. It appears that the Economic Development Board which contains among its members persons whom the Government of Travancore have charged with the economic regeneration of the country has made suggestions to the Government for the survey of seven villages selected by them. Rao Bahadur Rangaswami Aiyangar says that the choice cannot on any account be of any use, because it is only specialised experts that can do anything in the direction of selecting the villages. Now, I ask, are our Government so foolish as to have entrusted the work of guiding the economic activities in the State to people who cannot even choose half a dozen typical villages? If so, I am afraid the Department of Industries, the Departments of Agriculture, Co-operation and Forests will have to be abolished. After all, is an expert so superhuman a being that as soon as he makes a tour round the State he will be able to find out typical villages which persons who know the conditions of the country will not be able to find out? I think even the argument of specialists is carried too far. Even the knowledge of specialists must have limitations and even in the instances referred to by Rao Bahadur Rangaswami Aiyangar, he had to admit that a village selected by a highly qualified expert had to be given up and another village had to be chosen. So, I would submit to this House that if a person who knows the conditions of the country, a person who is qualified enough and educated enough to understand the conditions makes a selection of a village, that villages will be found to be really typical. I was astonished to find that the learned Professor of Economics, a gentleman of great eminence in the subject, should come forward and tell us that the subject of studies in his branch of knowledge cannot be made use of, in the manner suggested. Even the survey of a few typical villages; according to him is a very difficult thing; it is only specialised experts that can select the villages.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: The selection of villages is a matter of detail.

MR. A. THANU PILLAI (*Trivandrum*): No doubt, it is a matter of detail. But the importance he attached to the difficulties attending the matter was really surprising.

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RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): A word of personal explanation. I referred yesterday to a suggestion that students who are just beginning to learn economics should be utilised as investigators. I pointed out that it was not possible.

MR. A. THANU PILLAI (*Trivandrum*): The recommendation of the Economic Development Board according to him could not be accepted for this reason among others.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: I think we are not now sitting in judgment over the relative merits of the recommendations of the Economic Development Board. We are concerned with the particular question whether an economic survey is desirable or not. His attention was drawn to a detail of the Economic Development Board and he referred as a matter of courtesy to the recommendations. You need not waste your time over that. It is a matter of detail.

MR. A. THANU PILLAI (*Trivandrum*): I thought that is a very strong circumstance in favour of the resolution. Rao Bahadur Rangaswami Aiyangar, no doubt, opposed the resolution on behalf of Government. He, in his speech, clearly stated that a recommendation was made for an economic survey though limited in extent by the Economic Development Board, which, as I already stated, is composed, among others, of Heads of Departments that have to do with the economic development of the country. One would naturally expect that on the Government side, in fairness to the non-officials, these Departmental Heads would express their views.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: They may do it.

MR. A. THANU PILLAI (*Trivandrum*): They may do it. But thus far they have not done it. They are expected to know the actual conditions in the country. Non-official gentlemen have given their views as regards the economic condition of the country. What views these Departmental Heads hold on the matter, whether they think that a survey is a necessity – these are matters which the non-official members have a right to know. Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar is unfortunately one whose acquaintance with economic matters so far as Travancore is concerned has all along been one relating to books as Mr. Kurunakaran said. I rely on the fact that the Economic Development Board made a recommendation. In my opinion the Heads of Departments who are in the Economic Development Board are in favour of this. So, that fact is in favour of the resolution. So far as I could see, except the fear of the cost and the delay and the magnitude and the highly scientific nature of the work, absolutely no reason has been given why the resolution as it stands cannot be accepted. As far as the scientific nature of the work is concerned, economics is not an exact science like mathematics. It is a science that deals to some extent with mathematical calculations; but it deals mainly with the collection of information with regard to the condition of the people of the State.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Your time is up.

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MR. A. THANU PILLAI (*Trivandrum*): I strongly support the resolution.

MR. R. RAMAN PILLAI (*Kottayam*): Sir, I also wish to speak a few words in support of the resolution of Mr. Damodaran Asan. It was most vehemently opposed by Rao Bahadur Rangaswami Aiyangar on behalf of the Government. But I think, somehow or other, he conceded the necessity for a survey though with his exaggerated estimate of cost and time he tries to frighten us away. So I ask my brothers in this Council not to be frightened away by Rao Bahadur Rangaswami Aiyangar. No man can correct himself or his neighbours unless he finds out the faults in him or in his neighbours. It is therefore clear that Government can in no way improve the economic condition of the people of this State without knowing what their real position at present is. In order to find it out it is highly necessary to have an economic survey. To do that, he says, we will have to spend a very, very large amount, and it would take a very long time. Mr. Karunakaran, a man of practical knowledge in this matter was of an opinion just the reverse that of Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar. Sir Viswesvarayya, whose practical knowledge and ablity, I think, no one will doubt, who was a member of a committee appointed by the British Government, appears to have stated in a report that the cost per thousand of the population will only amount to Rs. 25. I remember to have read so in a certain newspaper, if my memory is correct. I think the amount we will have to spend for this will only be about one lakh and twelve thousand rupees. Let it amount to ten times that; I do not think this Council would grudge the amount. So, not being frightened away by our learned Education Director, let us pray to God that he be given strength enough to direct our Education Department so that our posterity may thrive well in education. We will go on with the advice of practical gentlemen like Mr. Karunakaran and Sir Visweswarayya. I have heard of our old women telling their young babies. ഉമ്മാക്കി വരുന്നു, കണ്ണു മിണ്ടരുതേ ; ഉറങ്ങിക്കോ.

Similarly, Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar frightens us with the amount of the money involved and the length of the time. Beware! Do not be beguiled away by such exaggerated estimates of time and cost. Let us look to our own business. I advise my friends on this side to stand strongly for this resolution. I would request my brethren to vote for this resolution moved by Mr. Asan. With these few words I commend this resolution for the acceptance of the Council. I forgot to say about my learned sister. I suppose she also will vote for us.

MR. N. K. KRISHNA PILLAI (*Neyyattinkara*): Sir, I too rise to support the resolution brought forward by Mr. Asan. Mr. Asan has dealt with the matter in such an exhaustive way that it hardly needs any comment on the part of one who wants to support it. It was opposed by an economic expert of the theoretical school but was supported by an economic expert of the practical school. It was again supported by another expert whom one of these economic experts would call a legislative expert and also by other gentlemen who

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[Mr. N. K. Krishna Pillai.]

probably would like themselves not to be called experts. What remains I htink, to add to the flavour of the situation is probably the opinion, of some other experts like Dr. Kunjan Pillai, Mr. Chacko, Mr. Vaidyalingam Pillai and others. Along with my friend Mr. Karunakaran I would also request these experts to enlighten the House with their views in the matter.

Sir, it is a matter of common knowledge that any sort of progress, whether political or otherwise, of a State must follow in the wake of the economic development and of all things it is economically that our State is the most backward. To achieve this end spade work has to be done necessarily by some sort of economic survey. Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar, whose eloquent speech we had the pleasure of listening yesterday and which is also characterised by several speakers in several ways, did not tell us, as was observed by our learned Deputy President, that this proposal was unnecessary, but he only said that it does not come within the range of practical politics. But most of us on this side of the House, I think, would differ from that view. Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar's speech had the effect of alarming some of us about the duration of time and the amount of money required to push this scheme through to completion. My submission is, as was observed by several speakers who supported the resolution, that even if it comes to a very large amount of money the country is prepared to bear the burden in view of the importance of the matter in the interests of the prosperity of the land. I think that a complex machinery of experts is not necessary to go into this question. A complex machinery of experts need not go from place to place, touring the country collecting statistics. My submission is that local agencies may be asked to act under instructions from a small central committee in which may also be put probably experts like Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar and others. So, my submission is that in view of the importance of the matter and also in view of the fact that the Development Board has made a special recommendation in favour of such a proposal this motion of Mr. Asan must commend itself to this House. With these few words I support the resolution.

MR. MATTHEW MURIKKAN (*Vaikam*): The practical economist on this side of the House invited the opinion of some of the members on the other side of the House, but I did not find any of those gentlemen trying to enlighten us. I was waiting for them. Anyhow, their silence is so prolonged that I have not got the patience to wait any longer. The mover of the resolution has very beautifully and very ably exposed both sides of the question. He has discussed the necessity for an economic survey in the land; and the learned Professor, as has been observed by many of the members on this side of the House, has also exposed the difficulties attending an economic survey contemplated by the resolution. I would not differ from the learned professor if along with the suggestions of the difficulties he had placed before the House a constructive programme. That he has not done. At the very outset he made two observations. If I remember

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correctly—of course his speech took place yesterday—if my memory does not fail me, his two observations are these. The first is that the recommendation contained in the resolution is Utopian and the labour necessary for conducting a survey of the kind contemplated by the resolution is Atlantian. Of course, as Mr. Raman Pillai said, these expressions do not in any way frighten us. I do not for a moment think that the recommendation contained in the resolution is Utopian. In fact the charge levelled against the resolution recoils on the head of the learned professor himself. He considers this simply from an ideal point of view. He aims at an ideal economic survey. But we are in the world of practical politics. As was very ably pointed out by our practical economist, we are not in the realm of ideals but of facts and figures. It is because the learned professor aims at an ideal survey that he considers the recommendation contained in the resolution as Utopian.

Then with regard to the Atlantian labours attending on this survey, as I pointed out, the learned professor only described the difficulties attending the survey of the kind. At least for argument's sake he did not even give a constructive programme. If he had given at least a hypothetical case we would not have quarrelled with him. He simply said that in the Deccan Dr. Mann conducted an enquiry in a village and it was later found that he chose a wrong village and he had to acknowledge his own mistake in choosing the village. But that is not the case here. No village has been selected by such an expert. The Development Board has sent in a recommendation that such an enquiry should be conducted in seven villages. The professor would have only one village. I do not know which that village is. He is not able to give a constructive programme at least for a survey of the kind he would have. He states that a survey is good and there is necessity for it. But the difference of opinion consists only in the nature of the procedure to be adopted.

Then with regard to the economic survey *of* the State and *in* the State the professor yesterday said that he would have no objection if the preposition *in* was substituted for the preposition *of* and his quarrel was only with reference to the expression *of the State*. To my mind the change that he suggests makes no difference whatever. Mr. Asan did not want an inch by inch survey or an acre by acre survey. That is not to my mind the right sort of survey. We select some centres and as has been suggested by our practical economist we have to go and enquire into the condition of affairs, the productive capacity, the indebtedness, the wealth, the nature of the fluctuations, the rise of prices, etc. in these centres. We want to have an idea as to the real economic conditions of the State. Then only will it be possible for us to find remedial meaures. For example we must adopt measures for increasing the production of wealth, measures for the industrialisation of agriculture, measures for the development of industry the redistribution of the population according to the fertility of the soil, and then measures for

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[Mr. Matthew Murikkan.]

increasing the efficiency of labour and capital. These things are absolutely impossible if we do not take stock of our real position. If experts are necessary and if they cannot be got in this country, we must get them from outside. Now we can be practically satisfied with the Director of Agriculture, the Director of Industries and the learned Professor himself. This trio will proceed to the business of a survey assisted by an efficient staff for which you must pay. As has been pointed out by some of the members on this side of the House, we do not grudge to pay the money. We did not grudge to pay the money for the Neendakara Bridge. We have sanctioned the money for the electric lighting and the water supply scheme. Then why should we grudge to spend a certain amount of money for this very very important question? Therefore, considering the way in which we have voted for such grants, the Government need not fear that we would be reluctant to grant the amount for conducting this economic survey.

With regard to the question of cost itself he said it would be very heavy and would come to fifty laks of rupees. He cannot have an idea of the real cost because he aims at an ideal survey. It is practically impossible for him to have an idea of the real cost as he is obsessed with notions peculiar to himself. So I am not prepared to believe him when he says that it will come to about 50 lakhs.

Coming to the duration it does not matter if it prolongs for a number of years. But let us arrive at the truth, let us try to tackle some of the problems which will help us to reach the economic regeneration of the Travancore State. Certainly it will take time. Let us spend the money. The professor remarked that by the time the survey is over the facts and figures would have become old and useless. There again the professor is thinking of an ideal condition and he is not within the range of practical politics. However there is no difference of opinion with regard to the necessity for an economic survey. The difference arises only with regard to the difficulties attending it. We are now convinced that an economic survey is necessary and we would request the Government to accept the request contained in the recommendation. I am sure the Government will be able to act upon our recommendation. With these few words I support the resolution.

MR. D. C. JOSEPH (*Agastisvaram*): Sir, I rise to support the resolution now before the House. The urgency, the need and the importance of the economic survey for Travancore have already been sufficiently and elaborately dealt with by my learned friends on this side of the House. So, I think there is no further need for going into the details of this very important subject. We are poor Travancoreans living in poverty. These Electric Punkas or rather these comfortable seats for accommodation in this House.....

MR. S. PIRAVIPERUMAL PILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, South*): Our seats are not at all comfortable.

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MR. D. C. JOSEPH (*Agastisvaram*): When compared with the situation existing in the villages they are comfortable. These things would not measure the real state of abject poverty of the villagers in Travancore. What we see outward is only bogus prosperity. If you just look for a moment the amount that is daily being drained out of Travancore by way of petrol for motors and motor accessories every true lover or patriot of the country will shudder to hear about the real condition of Travancore. We are really allowing our wealth to go outside our State. Our employment problem is staring us in our face. There is still another demand that we should set apart a portion of our appointments for the female population. All these things deserve an earnest attention of those that are responsible for the peace and happiness of the State. I am not an economics expert like our professor, but I only say what is actually taking place in Travancore. When far-reaching changes are taking place all over the world and even in British India, why not we also care for the poor citizens who are not having even one meal daily. So, it seems to me that an economic survey is quite indispensable at this moment. This is not the first time that this important topic has come up. It has been brought to the notice of Government in the various Sessions of the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly. So, there is something working in the minds of the people for the survey and they are waiting for an opportunity to see that their economic condition is properly developed and their economic position is maintained properly. When that is the wish of the people why not the Goverement also take some interest in the matter? That is the situation now, and I do not think that there is any sympathy from the other side of the House for the resolution. Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar as the spokesman of Government objected to it with his sweet tongue or command of language probably thinking this House is just like a college class.

MR. N. K. KRISHNA PILLAI (*Neyyattinkara*): Does Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar represent the whole Government side?

MR. D. C. JOSEPH (*Agastisvaram*): I do not say that he represented the whole Government side that day. So he thought this House is just like a college class and engaged us for about an hour, mountain labouring for a mouse. What is it after all that we got from his valuable speech? I do not think there was anything substantial for the development of the future welfare of the poor, suffering, miserable citizens of Travancore. There was nothing in that powerful speech or in the explanation he offered to defend the Government. He tried to frighten this House away by saying that the expenditure for an economic survey may be enormous and that its duration may be long. It does not matter whether it would be costly or whether it would take a long time. We want only real salvation to the economic condition of the people. Perhaps, the Government may be prepared to spend two or three lakhs for the construction of a High School, some sixteen thousand rupees for furniture and so on. But when an important matter which really affects the citizens of Travancore comes before this House, there is the opposition that it is costly,

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[Mr. D. C. Joseph.]

What I say is we should not tolerate such things. This side of the House should bestow particular attention on this matter. The official member thinks that this is an assembly where students take an active part. But this side of the House consists of members, representatives of the people of Travancore, who are actually living in the nooks and corners of the State, whose real interests, sufferings and hardships are not easily seen by these officers who are responsible for the proper administration of the State. They think that the people live for the officers and not the officers for the people. I need not take up the valuable time of the House because we want to hear very responsible officers like Dr. Kunjan Pillai and those who are really interested, and Mr. Lampard, who is interested in the labour problem. So, I finish my speech by strongly supporting the resolution now before the House.

MR. TARIATU KUNJITOMMAN (*Muvattupuzha* cum *Todupuzha*): സാമ്പത്തിക സർവ്വെ നടത്തണമെന്നുള്ള മിസ്റ്റർ ആശാന്റെ പ്രമേയത്തെ ഞാൻ ബലമായി പിൻതാങ്ങിക്കൊള്ളുന്നു. ജനങ്ങളുടെ സാമ്പത്തികമായ യഥാർത്ഥസ്ഥിതിമനസ്സിലാക്കണം, അതിനെ നന്നാക്കാനുള്ള മാർഗ്ഗം കണ്ടുപിടിക്കണം; ഇതാണ് ഓരോ പ്രമേയംകൊണ്ടുദ്ദേശിക്കുന്നത്. ജനങ്ങളുടെ സാമ്പത്തികസ്ഥിതിവളരെ ഉൽകൃഷ്ടമെന്നാണ് ഗവണ്മെന്റു ധരിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതെന്നുതോന്നുന്നു. ഗവണ്മെന്റും ജനങ്ങളും യഥാർത്ഥം മനസ്സിലാക്കുന്നതു കൊണ്ടു വളരെ ഗുണമുണ്ടാകാനുണ്ട്. പ്രതിവത്സരം ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ സാമ്പത്തികനില വർദ്ധമാനമാണെന്നു ഗവണ്മെന്റിൽനിന്നും ബഡ്ജറ്റ്യോഗത്തിൽ പ്രസ്താവിക്കാറുണ്ട്. അതു കേട്ടാൽ രാജ്യത്തെ പൊതു സാമ്പത്തികാവസ്ഥ ആശാസ്യമാണെന്നും ജനങ്ങളുടെസ്ഥിതി സാമ്പത്തികമായി നാൾക്കുനാൾ ഉയർന്നു കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നു എന്നും തോന്നാം. എന്നാൽ ജനങ്ങളുടെ അവസ്ഥ അവരുടെ പ്രതിനിധികളായ ഞങ്ങൾക്കു നല്ലവണ്ണം അറിയാം. പൊതുവിൽ ജനങ്ങളുടെ ഐശ്വര്യം പ്രതിദിനം ക്ഷയിച്ചു കൊണ്ടാണിരിക്കുന്നതു്. ഇങ്ങനെ ഐശ്വര്യത്തിൽ അധോഗതിയെ പ്രാപിച്ചു കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്ന ജനങ്ങളുടെ പെടലിയിൽ പുതിയ പുതിയ നികുതികൾ ചുമത്തിയും പഴയ നികുതികളുടെ നിരക്കു വർദ്ധിപ്പിച്ചും ഗവണ്മെന്റു കോശം പോഷിപ്പിക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. അതുകൊണ്ടാണ് ആണ്ടുതോറും വമ്പിച്ച തുക ബഡ്ജറ്റിൽ വരവു കാണിക്കുവാൻ കഴിയുന്നതു്.

ഇവിടത്തെ ജനങ്ങളുടെ പ്രധാനതൊഴിൽ കൃഷിയാണല്ലോ. കൃഷിമാത്രംകൊണ്ടു ഉപജീവനം കഴിച്ചുവരുന്ന ഒരു രാജ്യത്തു ജനസംഖ്യ വർദ്ധിക്കുന്നതനുസരിച്ചു കൃഷിസ്ഥലം വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനു മാർഗ്ഗമില്ലാത്ത

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തിനാൽ നാൾക്കുനാൾ ജനങ്ങൾ ദാരിദ്ര്യത്തിൽ ആണ്ടു പോകുന്നു. ഈ സ്ഥിതിയെ പറ്റി ആവർത്തിച്ചു പറയുകയും നിവൃത്തിമാർഗ്ഗം ചൂണ്ടിക്കാണിക്കുകയും ചെയ്തിട്ടും ഗവണ്മെൻറു അതിൽ ശ്രദ്ധിക്കുന്നില്ല. ആദായനികുതിമുമ്പുണ്ടായിരുന്നില്ല; അതേർപ്പെടുത്തി. ആദായനികുതി ഒരു വിധം ധനവാന്മാരെ മാത്രമെ ബാധിക്കയുള്ളു എന്നു സമാധാനപ്പെടാം. എന്നാൽ ദരിദ്രന്മാർക്കും ഫാറം അയച്ചും കണക്കു വരുത്തിയും ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടുണ്ടാക്കുന്നു. രജിസ്റ്റർ ഫീസ്, മുദ്രവില, കോർട്ടുഫീസ് ഇവകളും അടുത്ത കാലത്തു വർദ്ധിപ്പിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇങ്ങനെയുള്ള വമ്പിച്ച് നികുതി കൊടുക്കുന്നതിനു ജനങ്ങൾ അശക്തരാണു്.

അനുദ്യോഗസ്ഥഭാഗം ഇതെല്ലാം മനസ്സിലാക്കീട്ടാണു് പറയുന്നതു്. യഥാർത്ഥമറിയുവാൻ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർ പ്രാപ്തന്മാരല്ല. അതുകൊണ്ടു കാഷ്ഠികമായ സങ്കടങ്ങളെപറ്റിയുള്ള രോദനം കേവലം വനരോദനം ആയിത്തീരുന്നു. ജനങ്ങളുടെ യഥാർത്ഥസ്ഥിതി മനസ്സിലാക്കാൻ ഒരുഏക്കണോമിക്കു് സർവ്വെ കൊണ്ടു കഴിയും. ജനങ്ങൾ സാമ്പത്തികാവസ്ഥയിൽ എന്തുമാത്രം അധഃപതിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു, അവരുടെ കഷ്ടതകളെ പരിഹരിക്കാൻ ഉള്ള മാർഗ്ഗങ്ങൾ എന്തെല്ലാം എന്നും മറ്റും അറിയുന്നതിനു ഇതു ശരിയായമാർഗ്ഗമാണു്. ഞങ്ങൾ ഓരോന്നു പറയുമ്പോൾ ഞങ്ങൾക്കു ശാസ്ത്രീയവൈദഗ്ദ്ധ്യം പോരാ എന്നും ഞങ്ങൾ പറയുന്നതു സ്വീകരിക്കുന്നതു ആപല്ക്കരമാണെന്നും ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥഭാഗത്തു നിന്നും പറയാറുണ്ടു്. എന്നാൽ ഞങ്ങൾക്കു ശാസ്ത്രീയജ്ഞാനം കുറവായാലും പ്രായോഗികജ്ഞാനമുണ്ടു്. അതു സമ്മതിച്ചേകഴിയൂ. കൃഷിയിൽ ഞങ്ങൾക്കുള്ള അനുഭവം ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർക്കാർക്കുംതന്നെയില്ല. കൃഷിക്കു ജലവിതരണസൌകര്യം കൃത്രിമമായി ഉണ്ടാക്കണം. കൃഷിചെയ്യുന്നതിനു സ്ഥലം വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നതിനാൽ റിസർവ്വിലെ ചതുപ്പുനിലങ്ങൾ കൃഷിക്കായി വിട്ടുതരണം. ഉൾനാട്ടിലെ കൃഷിസ്ഥലങ്ങളിലേക്കു റോഡുകൾ വെട്ടി കൃഷിക്കാരുടെ ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടിനെ കുറച്ചുതരണം. ഇപ്രകാരം ഞങ്ങൾ പറയുന്ന അത്യാവശ്യമായ സംഗതികളെ വിസ്മരിച്ചുകളയുന്നു. ആഹാരം കഴിച്ചുവക്കു പലഹാരം എന്നപോലെ പട്ടണങ്ങളിൽ സുഖമായി താമസിക്കുന്നവക്കു ഏലക്ട്രിക് വിളക്കിനും ജലവിതരണത്തിനും റയിൽവേക്കും വേണ്ടി അനവധിപണം ചിലവാക്കുന്നു. അതു വേണ്ടാ എന്നു പറയുന്നില്ല. അവരോടൊപ്പം കർഷകന്മാരുടെ ആവശ്യങ്ങളും നിർവ്വഹിക്കണം.

ഇവിടെ കൃഷിയല്ലാതെ മറ്റൊരു തൊഴിലും സാരമായി അഭിവൃദ്ധി വരുത്താൻ സാധിക്കയില്ല. വ്യവസായം അഭിവൃദ്ധിപ്പെടുകയില്ല.

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[Mr. Tariatu Kunjitomman.]

കച്ചവടംഅഭിവൃദ്ധിപ്പെടുകയില്ല. വിദേശങ്ങളിൽനിന്നും ധാരാളം മൂലധനം മുടക്കീട്ടുള്ള കമ്പനിക്കാരാൽ ഉണ്ടാക്കപ്പെട്ടുന്ന പകിട്ടുള്ള സാധനങ്ങൾ ഇവിടെ ചുരുങ്ങിയവിലയ്ക്കു കിട്ടിക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുമ്പോൾ ഇവിടത്തെ വാണിജ്യവും വ്യവസായവും എങ്ങിനെ അഭിവൃദ്ധിപ്പെടും. പുറത്തുനിന്നു വരുന്ന സാധനങ്ങളെ വലിയ നികുതി ചുമത്തി നിയന്ത്രിക്കണം. ജപ്പാൻ മുതലായ രാജ്യങ്ങൾ ഇങ്ങനെയാണ് അഭിവൃദ്ധിപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുള്ളതു. അതിവിടെ സാധിക്കയില്ല. ഇവിടത്തെ പ്രധാന വ്യവസായം കൃഷിയാണ്. കൃഷിയിൽനിന്നും ഉണ്ടാകുന്നഉൽപന്നങ്ങൾ മാത്രമാണ് ഇവിടത്തെ കയറ്റുമതി. കൃഷിക്കാരുടെ സങ്കടങ്ങളെ എത്രയെല്ലാം ആവർത്തിച്ചു പറഞ്ഞാലും ഗവർമെൻറു വകവയ്ക്കുന്നില്ല. ഇവിടത്തെ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥമണ്ഡലം പ്രായേണ കൃഷിക്കാരുടെ ഇടയിൽനിന്നുള്ളതല്ല. അവർ സമർത്ഥന്മാർ തന്നെ. എന്നാൽ കാഷ്ഠികമായ പരിതസ്ഥിതിയിലൊ വാസനയിലൊ ജനിച്ചവർ അവരിൽ കുറവാണ്. ഇതു ശ്രീവാഴ്കോടാണ്: പണ്ടു ധൈശപ്യമുള്ള ഒരു രാജ്യമായിരുന്നതുകൊണ്ടാണു ശ്രീവാഴ്കോട എന്ന നാമകരണം ചെയ്യപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുള്ളതു്. എന്നാൽ ഇപ്പോൾ അതു ശരിയല്ല. വാസ്തവത്തിൽ കൃഷിചെയ്യുന്നതിനു വസ്തുക്കളില്ലാതെ എത്രയെത്ര ആളുകളാണ് ഈ രാജ്യത്തുള്ളതു? തൊഴിൽ ചെയ്യാതെ എത്ര യുവാക്കന്മാരാണ് കഷ്ടതയും ദാരിദ്ര്യവും അനുഭവിച്ചുകഴിഞ്ഞുകൂടുന്നതു്? നാട്ടിൻപുറങ്ങളിൽ എത്രപേർ പട്ടിണികൊണ്ടും പാർപ്പാൻ വീടില്ലാതെയും കഴിച്ചുകൂട്ടുന്നു. ഇതു് സുഖമായി കഴിയുന്ന ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥമെമ്പർമാക്കു് അറിയാൻ സാധിക്കയില്ല. അതവരുടെ തെറ്റല്ല. പരിതസ്ഥിതിഭേദമാണ്. അതുകൊണ്ടു ഇങ്ങനെ ഒരു സർവ്വെ നടത്തി ആളുകളുടെ സാമ്പത്തികസ്ഥിതി അറിഞ്ഞു അതിനെ അഭിവൃദ്ധിപ്പെടുത്തുന്നതിനു വേണ്ട മാർഗ്ഗങ്ങൾ കണ്ടുപിടിച്ചു പ്രവർത്തിക്കണം. ഈ അഭിപ്രായത്തോടുകൂടി ഞാൻ ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ ശക്തിയായി പിൻതാങ്ങിക്കൊള്ളുന്നു.

RAO SAHIB DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): Sir, it was not my intention to take part in the discussion of this resolution. But some of my friends on the other side are very anxious to know my views in the matter; and I think it would be unfair if I remain silent.

Sir, the desirability of conducting an economic survey of the state is not questioned by anybody. All the members of this House, both official and non-official,—and I think Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar emphasised this point — recognise the importance of such a

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survey. Government also—I am not speaking on behalf of Government, but I think that won't be wrong in saying that Government also—recognise the importance and the necessity of conducting an economic survey of the State. I believe it was in 1907 that the Government issued a G. O. authorising two officers of the State to conduct an "Agricultural and Industrial survey of the country". What the Government then really meant was an economic survey. The officers who were appointed for the purpose did not find the necessary time to do anything.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Is that Dr. Barker's survey?

RAO SAHIB DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): No Sir, the earlier G. O. was issued in 1907 and I think one of the officers entrusted with the work was Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): May I say a word by way of personal explanation. Government asked us to conduct the survey in three months.

RAO SAHIB DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): I only say, Sir, that a G. O. was issued on the subject as early as 1907.

MR. S. PIRAVIPERUMAL PILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, South*): May I know from the member whether the report of the survey promised by the Dewan then in the Assembly, was published?

RAO SAHIB DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): I do not know. As a matter of fact I do not know that the Dewan promised that the report would be published.

MR. S. PIRAVIPERUMAL PILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, South*): Will the Member refer to the Assembly Proceedings?

RAO SAHIB DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): I shall do so. Very probably it is there.

The fact I wish to emphasise is that Government did recognise the importance of conducting an economic survey and took steps in this direction as early as 1907. From the speech made by Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar yesterday, you would have noticed that the Government too were as alive as the non-official members of this House to the necessity or the desirability of conducting an economic survey and that it was in accordance with the wishes of Government that he suggested a slight amendment to the Resolution.

A great deal has been said about the recommendation made by the Economic Development Board of which unhappily I happen to be the President. The Board did make a recommendation to the Government urging upon them the desirability of conducting an economic survey of seven typical villages.

MR. MATTHEW MURIKKAN (*Vaikam*): Will the member be pleased to tell me what he means by "*typical*" villages?

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RAO SAHIB DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): I shall explain my meaning presently. I am now speaking of Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar's amendment. This amendment is practically the same as the Board's recommendation. The Board suggested that a survey of seven typical villages in the State should be conducted. Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar said the Government would be prepared to accept the resolution if the word "of" were changed into 'in". What is meant by the amendment is that the Government would be prepared to conduct an economic survey of a few villages of the State. "Of the State" means that the Government will have to commit themselves to undertake a survey of the whole State. This is an impracticable proposition at present, but the Government are willing to conduct a survey of some villages.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): Is it practicable at any time?

RAO SAHIB DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): I do not hear the member.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): The Director of Agriculture and Fisheries just now stated that it is impossible at present. My question is whether it is practicable at any time?

RAO SAHIB DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): I was trying to prove that the recommendation of the Economic Development Board was not in conflict with the amendment suggested by Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): My question is whether it is practicable to conduct the enquiry at any time?

RAO SAHIB DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): I shall deal with that question later on.

What I want to say now is that the recommendation of the Board is just the same as the amendment suggested by Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar. By accepting the amendment, the House would only be endorsing the recommendation of the Board. This is my first point.

Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar read out a letter which was sent to the Board in reply to the recommendation it made. This reply was considered by the Board and another resolution that the Board was not convinced of the arguments advanced by Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar was passed to the effect that the Government should be requested to refer the matter to other eminent economists and invite their opinion before they finally decided the question. The Board has however received the final orders of Government on the subject.

MR. N. K. KRISHNA PILLAI (*Neyyattinkara*): May I ask the member whether an economic survey of seven typical villages will serve the purpose of holding an economic survey of the State?

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RAO SAHIB DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*) : The villages we have selected are typical. One is situated in South Travancore, another in Trivandrum, a third in Kuttanad and so on. In each village it is proposed to take up one or two *karas* containing a number of houses.

MR. MATTHEW MURIKKAN (*Vaikam*) : The difficulty is not with regard the expression '*village*' but with regard to the expression '*typical*'.

RAO SAHIB DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*) : There is no difficulty about that if we select villages typical of the conditions prevailing in the taluks in which they are situated. Thus by taking a number of villages from different parts of Travancore we may get some idea of the economic condition of the people of the State. Later on we can take up other villages and when we have collected data about a sufficient number of villages we can draw conclusions. Let us now make a beginning. Whether the experts will regard the villages selected by the Board as typical, I cannot say. But my experience of the country leads me to think that they are typical.

MR. MATTHEW MURIKKAN (*Vaikam*): Will the member kindly name the villages?

RAO SAHIB DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*) : I do not remember the names.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*) : I will give the names.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: We are not going to sit in judgment as to whether these villages are typical.

MR. MATTHEW MURIKKAN (*Vaikam*) : But, Sir, the House will be enlightened.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT : I am just saying that you are travelling far from the issue.

RAO SAHIB DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): There are twelve members on the Board and all of us thought that the villages we selected were more or less typical of the conditions prevailing in those localities. If we conduct a survey of these villages now, whether they are typical or not, we can take up more villages later on and complete the survey of the whole State in course of time. Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar's suggestion to substitute "in" for "of" in the resolution means that Government will conduct a survey of some villages but if they accept the resolution as it is they are bound to make a survey of the whole State. It may not be possible to do so now. There are certain practical difficulties in doing it.

The practical difficulties are these : In British India a survey of this kind has not been made. A resolution was moved in the Legislative Assembly and the non-official members then strongly emphasised the necessity of conducting an economic survey of the whole

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[Rao Sahib Dr. N. Kunjan Pillai.]

of India. The Government said that it was not practicable but finally they appointed a committee presided over by Sir M. Visveswarayya. That committee was appointed not to conduct an economic survey; but to examine the available data and records and submit proposals to conduct an economic survey if necessary. We know what the findings of the committee are.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara cum Kartikapalli*): May I know whether that committee has recommended an economic enquiry of the whole of India?

RAO SAHIB DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): I am coming to that.

I read through the report of the committee. As regards British India, the report says that there are two classes of statistics to be collected. There are, for instance, the statistics relating to the area under cultivation, the yield of the different crops, the price of commodities and such other things of an ordinary routine nature. These figures are even now being collected in British India by the Revenue Staff. Over and above this, the committee say that the economic conditions of the villages should be investigated and recommended for this purpose the appointment of special investigators to be attached to a board of economic enquiry like the one they have in the Punjab which is a permanent institution. In other words the committee suggest that what is being done in the Punjab might be done in other Provinces also.

The Visveswarayya Committee has gone into the question of the cost. It is of opinion that a proper economic survey would cost an annual recurring expenditure of Rs. 25 per thousand of the population. At this rate the annual cost in Travancore would be somewhere about a lakh of rupees. If the enquiry should be of any value, a permanent institution must be created to study the condition of the whole State.

The practical difficulties which I have already alluded to are these. In the first place we have to create an agency for collecting the data. In British India the Revenue Department collects the ordinary statistics. In Travancore the Revenue Department is not doing it and I doubt whether Mr. Robinson will agree to this additional burden being imposed on the Revenue Staff. If we ask the Revenue Department to attend to this duty also, Mr. Robinson will apply immediately for additional staff. Again also, as suggested by the Visveswarayya Committee, Government will have to create separate agencies for the intensive study of economic conditions of the people. All this will cost lakhs of rupees and the establishment will have to continue for a number of years. In fact it should become a permanent institution. If the Council is prepared to sanction funds, Government may be prepared to consider this point and appoint special investigators. I am only saying

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that if the House would sanction funds the Government might consider the question of conducting an economic survey.

Again there is another difficulty. In order to get reliable information you will have to compel people to furnish correct data. I have had some experience in collecting figures. Once I went to a fishermen's village and enquired of their income. Fearing that they might be taxed, they never gave me the correct figures. So unless there is legislation to compel people to give correct figures, it will not be practicable to collect accurate information.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): May I know, even if there is legislation, people are bound to give accurate information?

RAO SAHIB DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): Without legislation I am sure they will not give accurate information. If there is legislation we can try to elecit correct information. These are the practical difficulties in undertaking a comprehensive economic survey.

MR. N. K. KRISHNA PILLAI (*Neyyattinkara*): How many years will it take to complete an economic survey, according to Dr. Kunjan Pillai?

RAO SAHIB DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): There must be a permanent institution. We can start a survey now and continue it for ever. The data collected must be revised from time to time.

MR. MATTHEW MURIKKAN (*Vaikam*): Does the member say that it will never be over?

RAO SAHIB DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): There is no good in finishing it off in a few years. In British India there is a Statistical Department and the duty of that department is to collect figures and publish them in the departmental reports. Government are prepared to conduct an economic survey in the State by selecting some typical villages for the purpose. What I would urge upon the mover of the resolution is that he should not force Government to accept the resolution as it is, but should agree to the amendment suggested by Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar.

MR. N. K. KRISHNA PILLAI (*Neyyattinkara*): May I know from Dr. Kunjan Pillai the extent of the area of the villages selected from the Neyyattinkara taluk.

RAO SAHIB DR. N. KUNJAN PILLAI (*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries*): I shall supply the member with copies of the proceedings of the Economic Development Board. I have not got the file with me to give a reply off-hand.

MR. L. A. LAMPARD (*Planters*): Sir, like Dr. Kunjan Pillai, I did not want to speak on this debate. But since my name has been mentioned, I should like to say a few words. I am not given to making

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[Mr. L.A. Lampard.]

speeches. I will therefore be only able to speak in a commercial sense, you may call it business sense or whatever sense you like. There is a certain feeling among the people in Travancore that more help and more guidance might be provided. Reference has been made to big firms. In this case it is possible for them to conduct surveys of their own. That is being done in every year by a number of firms. But the smaller men in Travancore are without guidance and without sufficient information. I know that from personal experience. A number of gentlemen have come to me from time to time wishing to start tiles and timber works or shipping produce, for guidance and information. Travancore is largely agricultural. But now industries are growing. In my opinion if the survey is to be undertaken it is better to undertake it now in the initial stages and not wait for a long time. We must go on progressing, as in European countries.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Mr. Lampard, if you could talk a little louder, some of the friends on this side of the House will be thankful.

MR. L. A. LAMPARD (*Planters*): I am afraid I am not used to public speaking.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Only if it is possible.

MR. L. A. LAMPARD (*Planters*): Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar gave an interesting speech yesterday. I do not like to criticise it in the way in which I have heard it criticised, because I have not made a study of economics as he has. We must admit that we cannot do without the help of scientists or psycologists or theorists. We must co-operate with them and they must guide our energies. If they can provide us with statistics, it will be of some help. I am sure we will be the first to thank them. Statistics are most valuable in industries. Two examples occur to my mind. A few years ago a large oil mill was erected in this country. The size of the mill was based on the output of copra produced in Travancore. It was said that six hundred thousand tons could be the estimate for the mills. But the output of copra is not more than two hundred thousand tons. The reason for the failure is economics. Another instance occurs to my mind. During the war we had great difficulty in shipping tea and rubber to Europe and America. The Planting community sent many petitions to the Government for more shipping facilities. After a while the Government agreed to accept a deputation. A Planter was sent to Madras to interview the Government. Government were prepared with their statistics. Planters were not. Government said, if you planters can give us a ship load of rubber within a month you can have a ship. The whole of the rubber produced in South India would not then fill one ship in one year. It is just an example of the use of economics.

There is another phase of the subject which was referred to by Mr. Karunakaran and that is the question of strikes. Unfortunately, I have had experience of strikes. I may say that employers hate strikes and they dislike strikes more than the employes. The case of the

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strikers in Travancore, as far as I can see, is economics. The employer cannot always see his way to increase the wages or decrease the task and he thinks his employes are unreasonable in striking. The other side of the picture is that the strikers say they cannot live on their pay. Both are acting from the economic point of view. The employer is able to produce his figures to show and prove his case. But the poor striker is not in the same fortunate position and there is no means of proving whether his rate of pay is sufficient or insufficient and I think there is no means now to ascertain what is the real rate of living in this country. In England people are getting together now and comparing figures but the majority of the coolies are not able to express themselves and getting their cases righted. I am not in a position, Sir, to deal with the theoretical points as I am not very well versed in theoretical economics. These are points which occur to the every day economists in this country and through this resolution we have got an opportunity of putting our views before the Government. I would like to support the motion but I would prefer the Government's suggested amendment.

MR. P. S. MAHOMED (*Nominated*): സർ, ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥഭാഗത്തുനിന്നും സംസാരിച്ച രണ്ടു മെമ്പർമാരുടേയും പ്രസംഗം കേൾക്കുന്നതിന് എനിക്കു ഭാഗ്യമുണ്ടായി. എന്നാൽ അനുദ്യോഗസ്ഥഭാഗത്തുനിന്നും പ്രസംഗിച്ച പല സ്നേഹിതന്മാരുടേയും സാരമേറിയ പ്രസംഗം കേൾക്കാനുള്ള ഭാഗ്യം ഇന്നു വെള്ളിയാഴ്ചയായതുകൊണ്ടു എനിക്കു ഉണ്ടായിട്ടില്ല. എങ്കിലും ഞാൻ വന്നതിനുശേഷം ആ ഭാഗത്തുനിന്നും കേട്ടിട്ടുള്ള പ്രസംഗങ്ങളെ ആകമാനം നോക്കിയതിൽ രണ്ടു ഭാഗക്കാരുടേയും അഭിപ്രായത്തിനു വലിയ വ്യത്യാസമില്ല. രണ്ടുകൂട്ടരും ഒരു എക്കണോമിക്കുസർവെ നടത്തേണ്ടതിന്റെ ആവശ്യത്തെ സമ്മതിക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. അനുദ്യോഗസ്ഥഭാഗത്തുനിന്നും പുറപ്പെടുവിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള അഭിപ്രായം എനിക്കുകേൾക്കാൻ സാധിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളിടത്തോളം ഇഞ്ചു് ഇഞ്ചായിട്ടു് അളന്നുതിരിക്കണമെന്നു ഉദ്ദേശമില്ലെന്നു മനസ്സിലായി. ഏകദേശം താരതമ്യേന ഒരു സർവെ നടത്തണമെന്നു ആവശ്യപ്പെടുന്നുള്ളൂ. ഫലം കിട്ടത്തക്കവണ്ണം രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ പല ഭാഗങ്ങളേയും പരിശോധിച്ച Typical ആയ സ്ഥലങ്ങളെ നോക്കി സർവെ നടത്താമെന്നു് ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥഭാഗത്തുനിന്നും സമ്മതിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. മിസ്റ്റർ രങ്കസ്വാമി അയ്യങ്കാർക്കും പ്രമേയപ്രയോക്താവിനും തമ്മിലുള്ള വ്യത്യാസം ഒരു സംഗതിയാണു്. "Of the State" എന്നു് പ്രമേയത്തിൽ പറഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നതു മിസ്റ്റർ രങ്കസ്വാമിഅയ്യങ്കാരെ ഭയപ്പെടുത്തിയതുകൊണ്ടായിരിക്കാം അദ്ദേഹം നമ്മേയും ഭയപ്പെടുത്തിയതു്. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ അഭിപ്രായപ്രകാരം "in the State" എന്നാക്കിയാൽ

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[Mr. P. S. Mahomed.]

കായ്യനടത്തിപ്പിനു സൌകയ്യമുണ്ട്. ഏതായാലും ഈ കായ്യം നടക്കണമെന്നുമാത്രമെ ഉദ്ദേശമൊള്ളു. ഈ രാജ്യവാസികളുടെ നന്മയെ ഉദ്ദേശിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ ആവശ്യമില്ലാത്ത സംഗതികളിൽ പോയി ചാടാതെ നമ്മുടെ കായ്യങ്ങൾ സാധിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു പോകേണ്ടതു് ഈ കൌൺസിലിന്റെ കടമയാകുന്നു. നാമെല്ലാവരും ഉത്തരവാദിതബോധമുള്ളവരാണു്. ഏതു നിലയിലായാലും മിസ്റ്റർ രങ്കസ്വാമിഅയ്യങ്കാർ പ്രസ്താവിച്ചതുപോലെ in the State എന്നു ചേർത്തു പ്രമേയം പാസ്സാക്കണമെന്നു ഞാൻ അഭിപ്രായപ്പെട്ടുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

MR. MURUVELIL PACHU PILLAI (*Shertallai*): സർ, ഞാൻ പ്രമേയത്തെ പിൻതാങ്ങുന്നു. ഈ രാജ്യത്തെ ജനങ്ങളുടെ സാമ്പത്തികനിലയെ അറിയുന്നതിനു ഒരു സർവ്വെ നടത്തണമെന്നുള്ളതിനു യാതൊരു സംശയവുമില്ല. ഇവിടെ ഉണ്ടാകുന്ന കൃഷി സാധനങ്ങൾ എന്തെല്ലാം? ഇവിടെ ഉണ്ടാകുന്നതു കഴിച്ചു ആഹാരസാധനങ്ങൾ എത്രത്തോളം അന്യരാജ്യത്തു നിന്നു വരുത്തേണ്ടിവരുന്നു? ഇവിടെ ഉണ്ടാകുന്ന അസംസ്കൃത സാധനങ്ങളെന്തെല്ലാമാണു്? അവയെ അന്യ രാജ്യങ്ങളിലേക്കു എത്രത്തോളം നാം അയക്കുന്നുണ്ടു്? അന്യ രാജ്യത്തിൽ പോയശേഷം രൂപാന്തരപ്പെട്ടുവരുന്ന അവയെ എത്രമാത്രം നാം ഇറക്കുമതി ചെയ്യുന്നുണ്ടു്? ജനങ്ങളിൽ ഓരോരുത്തരുടേയും ധനസ്ഥിതി എന്താണു്? അതിനെ വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കാനുള്ള മാർഗ്ഗങ്ങൾ എന്തെല്ലാം? ഈ രാജ്യത്തുള്ളവരുടെ വരവിനും അന്യഭ്രഖണ്ഡത്തിലുള്ള ജനങ്ങളുടെ വരവിനും എത്രമാത്രം അന്തരമുണ്ടു്? അതു് അഭിവൃദ്ധിപ്പെടാൻ നാം ചെയ്യേണ്ടമാർഗ്ഗങ്ങൾ എന്തെല്ലാമാണു്? ഈ കായ്യങ്ങളെ എല്ലാം പറഞ്ഞു ഒരു സർവ്വെ നടത്തേണ്ടതു് അത്യാവശ്യമാണു്. ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥമെമ്പർ പറഞ്ഞ മറുപടി ഇങ്ങനെ ഒരു അന്വേഷണം നടത്തേണ്ട ആവശ്യമുണ്ടെന്നതന്നെയാണു്. അതു് എങ്ങിനെയാണു് നടത്തേണ്ടതു് എന്നുള്ളതിൽമാത്രമേ അഭിപ്രായ വ്യത്യാസമൊള്ളു. ഇവിടെ ഒരു സാമ്പത്തികസർവ്വെ നടത്തുക എന്നുള്ളതു് ഇടം പ്രഥമമാണു്. സാമ്പത്തിക സർവ്വെ എന്നു പറയുന്നതിൽ തന്നെ എന്തെല്ലാം സംഗതികൾ അടങ്ങിയിരിക്കും?ഏതു രീതിയിൽ നടത്താം? എത്ര ആളുകളെ കൊണ്ടു നിർവ്വഹിക്കപ്പെടാവുന്നൊരു കായ്യമാണു്? അതിലേക്കു് വിദഗ്ദ്ധന്മാരുടെ സർവീസുവേണ്ടേ? എന്നുള്ള സംഗതികളെപറ്റി പൂർണ്ണമായ അറിവു കൊടുക്കേണ്ടതു ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥമെമ്പരുടെ ചുമതലയാണു്. ആ സംഗതി പൂർണ്ണമായി അദ്ദേഹം നിർവ്വഹിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്. അതിലേക്കു

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അദ്ദേഹം കൂടുതൽ സമയം വിനിയോഗിച്ചുപോയി എന്നുള്ളതിൽ ആ ക്ഷേപം തന്നെ നിരർത്ഥകമാണെന്നാണ് എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം. ഇതു ഒരു വലിയ ഗൌരവമേറിയ വിഷയമാണ്. ഇതുപോലെ ഒരു സംഗതിവരുമ്പോൾ അതിന്റെ പൂർണ്ണവിവരങ്ങളെപ്പറ്റി വാദപ്രതിവാദം നടത്തി അതിന്റെ എല്ലാവശങ്ങളെയും പരിശോധിക്കേണ്ടതു അത്യാവശ്യമാണ്. അതിലേക്കുവേണ്ടിചെയ്യുന്ന ശ്രമം ഒരിക്കലും പാഴാവുകയില്ല. നേരെമറിച്ചു വളരെ പ്രയോജനമുണ്ടെന്നാണ് എന്റെ പൂർണ്ണ വിശ്വാസം. ഒരു സാമ്പത്തികസർവ്വെയുടെ പ്രയോജനം, അതിനാവശ്യമുള്ള വിദഗ്ധന്മാരുടെ സർവ്വീസു, അതു ചെയ്യുതീർക്കുന്നതിനു ആവശ്യമുള്ളസമയം, അതിലേക്കു ആവശ്യമുള്ളചിലവു ഈ സംഗതികളെല്ലാം ആലോചിക്കേണ്ടവയാണ്. എന്തായിരുന്നാലും ഇരുഭാഗക്കാരുടെയും അഭിപ്രായത്തിൽ വലിയവ്യത്യാസമില്ല. സർവ്വെ ആവശ്യമാണെന്നു സമ്മതിക്കുന്നു. ആദ്യമായിട്ടു ആരംഭിക്കുന്നസർവ്വെ ഏതാനും ചില വില്ലേജുകളിൽ മാത്രമായിട്ടു തുടങ്ങത്തക്കവണ്ണം 'of the State' എന്ന പദത്തിനു പകരം "in the State" എന്നു ചേർക്കണമെന്നു മാത്രമെ ഗവണ്മെന്റു ഭാഗത്തുനിന്നും പറയുന്നുള്ളൂ. അങ്ങിനെ ചെയ്യുന്നതിൽ യാതൊരു വിരോധവുമില്ല. പ്രമേയകർത്താവു അതിനെ സ്വീകരിക്കണമെന്നാണ് എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം. (മി: പി. എസ്. മഹമ്മദ്: ഹീയർ, ഹീയർ.) തല്ക്കാലം ഏതാനും വില്ലേജുകളിൽ ആദ്യം ആരംഭിക്കാം. അപ്പോൾ നമുക്കു അതിന്റെ സ്വരൂപമെന്താണെന്നു അറിയാം. അതിനുശേഷം വലിയചിലവുകൂടാതെ നിഷ്പ്രയാസം ചെയ്യത്തക്കതാണെങ്കിൽ ഈ സ്റ്റേറ്റു മുഴുവനും സർവ്വെചെയ്യണമെന്നു ശുപാർശചെയ്യുന്ന ഒരു പ്രമേയം ഈ കൗൺസിലിൽതന്നെ ഹാജരാക്കുകയും അങ്ങനെ രാജ്യമൊട്ടുക്കു വ്യാപിപ്പിക്കയും ചെയ്യാം. അല്ലാതെ ആരംഭത്തിൽതന്നെ രാജ്യംഒട്ടുക്കു വേണമെന്നു ആവശ്യപ്പെടുന്നതു ന്യായമല്ല. അതുകൊണ്ടു എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം പ്രമേയകർത്താവും ഈ അഭിപ്രായം സ്വീകരിക്കയും അതിലേക്കു അദ്ധ്യക്ഷനവർകൾ അനുവദിക്കയും ചെയ്യണമെന്നുള്ളതാണ്. ഈ അഭിപ്രായത്തോടുകൂടി ഞാൻ ഈ പ്രമേയത്തിൽ അടങ്ങീട്ടുള്ള തത്വത്തെ അനുകൂലിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

MR. G. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): Sir, I rise to support the resolution as it is. Of course, until I heard Dr. Kunjan Pillai I was hesitating what I should do in the matter, whether the amendment should be accepted or not.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: You talk of the original resolution.

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MR. G. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*) : I support the original resolution.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT : Until the amendment is before the Council you cannot say you support it.

MR. G. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*) : The amendment was supported by official members.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT : But Mr. Asan has not accepted it.

MR. G. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*) : I do not say that it has been accepted. I should like to tell Mr. Asan that the non-official members, almost all of them who have spoken already in the matter want to support the resolution as it is and not with the amendment.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT : I do not know that.

MR. G. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*) : Of course, as Mr. Pachu Pillai was saying that Mr. Asan should accept the amendment proposed by Dr. Kunjan Pillai and Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar—

DEPUTY PRESIDENT : Would you tender a different advice to Mr. Asan ?

MR. G. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*) : I do not think Mr. Asan has accepted the amendment that has been proposed.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT : If you want to offer any advice to Mr. Asan that he should accept this amendment, you might allow him to do so.

MR. G. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*) : I only want to point out that that amendment should not be accepted.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT : You mean that suggestion should not be accepted.

MR. G. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*) : There is no amendment before the House. That suggestion should not be accepted by Mr. Asan, because Dr. Kunjan Pillai has been saying that the approximate expenditure that will be involved in working out this scheme would be about a lakh of rupees every year which would of course be a recurring amount. From the statement of Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar we were led to think that fifty lakhs of rupees would have to be expended on the scheme and it was an alarming amount and I was hesitating whether I could vote for the resolution, whether the expenditure was in our means. But after hearing Dr. Kunjan Pillai, I think that it is within our means and that this House would not grudge to grant the demand which may be proposed by the Government.

MR. N. K. KRISHNA PILLAI (*Neyyattinkara*) : Has the member any objection to incur the expenditure out of capital head of revenue.

MR. G. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*) : Of course, we will consider the matter when it comes before the House. If the suggestion to amend the resolution is accepted, practically there would be no advantage to the country. There is no knowing whether the villages selected would be typical. The question will arise whether the economic position of the State has been analysed properly. And since after all the expenditure would only be a recurring amount of a lakh of rupees, as has been

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suggested by an expert like Dr. Kunjan Pillai I should think that we need not grudge the amount. The resolution as it is should have to be pressed.

MR. K. MADHAVAN PILLAI (*Trivandrum* cum *Neduvangad*): Sir, I move that the question be put.

The motion for closure was put and carried.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: I may say, Mr. Asan, that under the Rules you have got only 20 minutes. I will allow you a certain latitude and you must allow me to be the ultimate judge. I want to see that the resolution is voted before the evening.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): That is left to Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: But you must also co-operate with me.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): I will never state more than what I have to say in reply to Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar's speech.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: You confine yourself to the essential and important points.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): Sir, I must admit that the lengthy speech to which I was closely attending was highly disappointing and very much relieving to me. It was disappointing, because I expected that my learned friend would put forward some arguments against the resolution when he came to oppose it. I was very much relieved to see that a learned Professor like Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar was not able to find sufficient arguments to meet my case and he had to rely on one or two minor matters such as the immensity of the cost and the long duration of time such a survey would require. Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar has styled this resolution as vague, comprehensive, inaccurate and all undesirable terms have been applied to it by him and I will try to show to this House that his speech has been as vague, as inaccurate and as undesirable as it should not have been. Sir, he has not stated that an economic survey is not necessary, that we are on the high road of economic progress and that we could well afford to wait for a future date to undertake this survey. All that he has cared to state here is that it will be of very high cost.

I am asking Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar who made the allegation that my resolution was vague, whether his estimate of the probable expenditure has not been vague. I wish to know the source from which he stated that an economic survey of Travancore would cost about fifty lakhs of rupees. I do not know whether my friend has read the learned report of the Economic Enquiry Committee presided over by no less a person than Sir Visveswarayya.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): May I ask why Mr. Asan in his modesty should assume that ignorance is universal?

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MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*) : Quite so. I will appeal to my friend to think that he is not free from that defect and he must allow me to point out the defects in his speech.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*) ; I have to say that Mr. Asan is labouring under a great misapprehension.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT : Please allow him to finish.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*) : I showed the Professor courtesy in not interrupting him when he addressed the House, but now he wants to interrupt me very often.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT : Pass on, Mr. Asan.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*) : Because he said that an economic survey of Travancore would cost about fifty lakhs of rupees I thought that the Professor had not read the report of the Economic Enquiry Committee. The report says quite clearly at page 60, para 120, that the average expenditure per annum might come to Rs. 25·5 per 1000 persons.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*) : I will ask the member whether that statement is not for a survey which has to run in perpetuity.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*) : I will answer my friend as occasion arises, because he is very fond of interrupting me. As regards the estimate of the cost I will draw Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar's attention to para 109, the summary of which is given at page 67 of the Report :

"The yearly expenditure required for the Central Bureau, over and above the present cost of the Statistical Section of the Commercial Intelligence Office, is estimated at Rs. 75,000. An initial expenditure of Rs. 1,00,000 would be needed for equipment and a sum of Rs. 25,000 for quinquennial investigations. Rs. 75,000 will be the recurring yearly outlay, and the sum of Rs. 1,25,000 will represent the special outlay required in the first two years.

"A Provincial Bureau for a province of the size of the Punjab (population 20,678,395) will require a yearly recurring outlay of Rs. 4,73,000 besides a sum of Rs. 2,55,800 for initial equipment etc., the latter sum to be expended in the first two years.

"The total estimated cost worked out on the basis of population, for all the provinces of British India aggregates Rs. 56·79 lakhs recurring and Rs. 30·62 lakhs for expenditure on initial equipment, etc., in the first two years. This is exclusive of the expenditure of the Central Bureau mentioned above."

These are figures for an economic survey of the whole of India with a population of more than 200 millions. Here our population is only about 4½ millions and I do not think that my friend's high figure is in any way justifiable. I said for a population of 200 millions, because I have excluded the population of the Native States thinking that that might have been omitted in the calculation. Sir, even admitting that it will involve a large cost, I am asking the question whether it will be an economic drain on the country? If my friend is very particular that an expert should be got down, of course his pay has got to be paid

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from our revenues. Almost all the other staff necessary for conducting an economic survey could be obtained from the educated unemployed of the State who could be equipped after a short trainmg in the matter. Is that an economic drain on our country? Why should my friend be so much concerned with the question of expenditure when the people of the State as represented in this Council want an economic survey and are prepared to incur any expenditure necessary for it and why should he, the Director of Public Instruction, as representing the Government, oppose it? Even Dr. Kunjan Pillai said that only an annual expenditure of one lakh of rupees will have to be incurred. But my friend goes up to fifty lakhs of rupees. That is really vague and my statement is not at all vague.

As regards the immensity of the task, Sir, I will first of all draw the attention of this House to the speech of the learned Professor when a question more or less similar to this was placed before the Council on the 14th of August 1925. The learned Professor says "It is, I repeat, a difficult enquiry well worth undertaking and probably likely to be undertaken some time or other." So, that was his prophesy. I ask him why he should ask for a postponement of the question now.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): Sir, I did not ask for any postponement. As a point of personal explanation, I wish to say that all that I said was that it is ill-considered schemes that put off indefinitely well-considered schemes. May I also say that an economic survey is one of the important matters to which no Government is blind?

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): So, my friend admits that an economic survey is a very important matter and he now says that it could not be undertaken owing to the immensity of the task or owing to the huge expenditure that would have to be incurred and I ask him what then was his object in opposing my resolution except a request for postponement?

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: The time is not ripe.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): But my friend says that he does not ask for postponement.

Then my friend was telling about the duration, that it will take twenty or twenty-five years. That is also a statement which is very vague. He thought that his words would be accepted because he was a Professor of Economics.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): On a point of personal explanation, Sir, may I say that what I said was, that without considering fully the resolution, the members should not vote for it because Mr. Asan has attempted a study of the whole matter?

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): Sir, the attitude with which the learned Professor spoke yesterday led me to think that he wants that we must take for granted that all that he says

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[Mr. A. S. Damodaran Asan.]

is correct as coming from a high place. I must admit, fortunately or unfortunately, I had not the privilege of studying at his feet the subject of economics and so there might be some difference of opinion as regards that matter between ourselves.

Then, my friend was saying that it is very difficult to conduct a scientific enquiry. Mr. Matthew Murikkan has been saying that the Utopian ideals are more the learned professor's than mine. I thank Mr. Murikkan for that expression of opinion. If the learned Professor is very particular about the scientific nature of the economic survey, I can draw his attention to the report of the Economic Enquiry Committee, para 107, page 53.—

"We are of opinion that it is necessary to make an early beginning with the economic survey. It is recognized by economists that such investigations are not expected to give minutely accurate results and that the primary value of statistics is usually due to relative rather than to absolute accuracy. While always aiming at the greatest possible accuracy, we should be content, in the earlier stages of the survey, with approximate figures in all cases in which it may not be possible to obtain a correct count. Naturally, the information collected at first will be somewhat imperfect, but from year to year the public will become familiar with the processes, interest in these investigations will be roused, the growth of public opinion will ensure a steady advance, and the data will become more and more accurate."

The learned Professor spoke about magnitude of the task. I will advise him, if I am entitled to do so, to take advantage of what has been said in "The America of To-day by J. A. Spender," that in all business the philosophy should be this: "It can do anything if it thinks it can; it will do nothing if it doubts." So, if my friend Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar is confident that an economic survey can be carried out efficiently, and that if he does not oppose and bring such excuse before this House, I think—

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): I have nothing to do with Economics, Sir.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): He has been opposing it.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: On behalf of Government.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): I would like to know whether he would like to accept this resolution in his personal capacity?

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): Certainly not.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: It is not open to him to do that.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): The necessity of conducting an economic survey has been felt by me today more than on any other day. I had asked for an adjournment of the House for a definite matter of public importance owing to the failure of crops in my taluk due to heavy and untimely rains and

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the Government obtained a report from the Dewan Peishkar, Quilon, and stated that heavy losses had been caused in the Mavelikara taluk. Yet a responsible officer of Government, who should have the interest of the country at heart, got up and opposed it.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: You are not in order. You did not get permission for it.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): I am not talking about the adjournment motion. What I submit is, if an economic survey is conducted—

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: You did not get the permission of the House, as there was no urgency about it.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): To convince the House about the importance of the economic survey I will read here one or two quotations. The London Times says that "the nation which studies the drift of events as it is revealed by the statistical analysis will be indefinitely better equipped to take advantage of its opponents than another which perhaps press only to the methods of empiricism".

My friend has been saying that it is an impossible task to undertake an economic survey of our State and so he has called me an impractical man. I will draw the learned professor's attentions and the attention of the House to the fact that the Irish Free State has agreed to undertake an economic survey of the Irish Free State. Now in the "Manchester Guardian", dated 27-12-1928 it is stated "Fanna Fail is now displaying a commendably pacific and docile spirit and President Cosgrave has accordingly been tempted to try a bold and interesting experiment. He has seized upon a suggestion put forward by Mr. De Valera and appointed an All Parties Committee to enquire into the economic and financial condition of the Free State and recommend measures for its improvements". From all these quotations, probably large and too numerous, I think I have——

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): Is that what Mr. Asan understands to be an Economic Survey?

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): My friend could enlighten us in his reply. I am not going to answer him. My friend has tried to make an eloquent but not convincing speech.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: There is much difference between the two.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): There is some difference. My friend wants to make a slight amendment in the resolution. He wants only a substitution of the preposition "in" for "of".

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: It is a sporting offer that has been given to you and it is open to you to accept or reject it.

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MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): If the amendment is a slight one let him accept my resolution as it is. His suggestion is that it should be amended as "economic survey in the State", Sir, an economic survey in the State may mean a survey carried on in any part of the State or in a particular *Kara*. It is not sufficiently comprehensive. All those who have listened to my speech when I moved this resolution could understand that an economic survey in the State, in particular villages, will not meet the requirements of the resolution.

MR. MURUVELIL PACHU PILLAI (*Shertallai*): ഈ പ്രമേയം പാ സ്സായാലും രാജ്യം മുഴുവനും ഒന്നായിട്ട് സർവ്വെ ചെയ്യണമെന്നാണോ മെമ്പരുടെ അഭിപ്രായം?

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): I have clearly explained what I want to be done by means of this resolution.

Sir, my friend was saying that he will take up the survey of certain types of villages. I may ask him and the Heads of Departments such as —

(Noise from the visitors' gallery.)

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Order, Order, Silence please!

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): I may ask him and the Heads of Departments such as the Land Revenue Commissioner, the Agricultural Director, the Director of Industries and the Excise Commissioner, to note down the names of 7 typical villages without mutual consultation. Then we will find the Land Revenue Commissioner will choose typical villages according to the revenue. The Excise Commissioner may choose according to the consumption of liquor. The Education Director will probably concentrate his attention on the method of education and the type of education which is imparted and so on. The Director of Agriculture will go into the question of utilisation of manures and the improvement of cultivation.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: So you want people who are not experts in any branch of activity to select these villages.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): All these people have travelled throughout the country and have got a knowledge of the conditions of the country. They also have the interests of the country at heart. What I have stated is, in spite of their knowledge of the affairs of the country, they would not be able to be unanimous unless there is some mutual consultation.

Dr. N. Kunjan Pillai said that the Revenue Department could not be entrusted with all the duties which are discharged by the Revenue Department in British India. As there will be some difficulty in obtaining the necessary statistics—

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: What he said was that it would require more staff.

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MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*: More staff will be sanctioned by the Council if Mr. Robinson finds it to be necessary and convinces the House that it will be impossible to get that work done with the existing staff.

MR. S. C. H. ROBINSON (*Land Revenue and Income Tax Commissioner*): I hope the House will remember it.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: It will be in the official report of the Council.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): As regards legislation, which is necessary from the point of view of Dr. Kunjan Pillai, I think they will not have much difficulty in getting the necessary legislation for conducting an economic survey in the State passed by this Council. Sir, since it is time I resume my seat.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): I have no objection to finish my speech in five minutes. But I have to reply to the observations of many members.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: I do not want to be misunderstood. I am prepared to allow you a fairly reasonable time.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): I shall try to eschew unimportant points.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: It is now 4-55. Suppose I give you 20 minutes. Will that be enough?

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): I shall try to finish it within the time.

Sir, Mr. Damodaran Asan said that he was greatly surprised and relieved when he heard my speech. I was equally surprised but not relieved when I heard his speech. In the course of his desultory remarks, he honoured me by stating he had not studied Economics under me. May I say in all humility that the misfortune is mutual? Had we studied Economics together, a number of observations which fell from Mr. Asan's lips today would not have been uttered because Mr. Asan would have possessed some knowledge of the fundamental principles of Economics and this knowledge would have saved him from some of those remarks which are now to attain that immortality which is implied in their being reproduced in the verbatim reports of the proceedings of this Council. I am quite content to leave him to face posterity with those lucid explanations of his in regard to what is implied by economic enquiry and all that.

There is another matter to which I must allude. In the course of the discussion today much sympathy has been shown to me for my colossal ignorance of Economics. We have also heard at much length a speech by a practical economist, who said that like me he had once upon a time been an arm-chair economist, but since then had been promoted to the position of a practical economist and business man. (*Laughter*). On another occasion and in another place, I had to explode the so-called divergence between theory and practice and show that it is only believed in by persons who are neither experts in theory

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nor are practical minded men. This should be obvious to any one who reflects. A practice which is not compatible with a rational enunciation of the principles on which it is based cannot be sound. A theory which does not take into account the realities of life, and is not based on inductions must prove unscientific and unsound especially in a social science like Economics. No kind of theoretical investigation would be worth anything if it is not based upon the concrete realities of life.

Again, my friend, Mr. Thanu Pillai commiserated me upon my passion for accuracy in Economic studies. What does it matter, he asked, if we are not so very accurate? In this he was with Mr. Asan, who with his remarkable facility for misquotation and for misinterpretation, cited an eminent professor as saying some such thing.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara cum Kartikapalli*): Will the learned Professor justify his statement?

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): There is no justification necessary. The Professor's remarks are in print, and Mr. Asan's version of them will also be in print. Those who read both and who are able to judge will form an opinion.

MR. A. THANU PILLAI (*Trivandrum*): I did not say that the data need not be accurate. What I said was that Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar fears that the task would be very difficult because of the scientific nature of the enquiry. All the same, he said that, in his calculation, the work would cost about 50 lakhs of rupees and that it would take 20 years. I assumed this statement to be correct. I said that even assuming the statement to be correct, it would be worth doing. What I said was that in a matter like Economics, which is not an exact science like Mathematics, we could not have quite accurate figures.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): I am glad to hear the explanation. I must have misheard Mr. Thanu Pillai, and so must have others. What I wish to submit now, in this connection is, that Economics is not an exact science like some other sciences, and that is why our conclusions will have little validity if we do not take the utmost care in obtaining our data carefully and take steps to ensure the precision of our observations and the precision of our conclusions. This is one of the reasons why we must always eschew the temptation in social investigations to go in for impressionistic records and rely on nothing but hard, well-established facts. In the course of the discussion today, I was made to realise that a considerable number of remarks might have been avoided if some of the classical examples of Economic Survey had been accessible to members of this House, as well as to others. It has been assumed that the author of an economic survey sits down and notes down a certain number of generalisations which can guide the practical man, in his own affairs, and that the economic enquiry is only aimed at the presentation in a coherent and scientific form of a small number of such general

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conclusions. Ordinarily, no economist who attaches the least value to his reputation, will venture to lay down sweeping generalisations or even draw general conclusions as the result of such a survey. This is so, because the facts of economic life are all inter-related just in the same way as the aspects of life are inter-related. It is a common experience that the study of some of these facts in isolation, and apart from other facts, only leads to misleading conclusions. This is one of the reasons why Economic Survey Reports are extremely dry reading except to the professed student and statistician. The reports might be of value to an administrator, to a financier, and to various experts, but the man in the street would find them very dry fare, if he wants to nourish himself on them.

When I listened today, Sir, to the speeches made in this House, I was sorry for two things, *viz.*, for the misunderstanding of the subject matter of Economic Survey, which was so evident, and secondly for having myself been so misunderstood.

I do not wish to tire the patience of the House by trying to show that this economic survey is a matter which has been very much nearer my heart as a student of Economics than it can be to those who have only become recent converts to its value. This personal explanation would have been unnecessary but for the suggestion or implication in the speeches made in the House, in the course of this discussion, to the effect that I am personally lukewarm in this matter. Dr. Kunjan Pillai has testified to the Council that as many as 21 years ago, that is in the year 1907, when the first Economic Survey of the State was under consideration, I was myself the person asked by Government to undertake it. If this does not demonstrate anything else, it will show that my interest in an Economic Survey is pretty ancient. Let me however confess to the House that some kind of misfortune appears to have dogged the foot-steps of an economic survey in the State. In 1907, when Government sanctioned this enquiry, it was labelled as an Industrial and Agricultural Survey. Two officers including myself were asked to carry out the work in addition to their own duties. Both of us had so much of work to do in other ways that we could meet only on Saturday mornings. Nevertheless, we were expected to complete the survey and submit our final report within a space of three months. It would have been impossible for me, or for any one else to have even devised a proper scheme for undertaking such a survey within the time limit imposed, with any satisfaction. In those days I was young and would naturally have been more easily satisfied and would have been more optimistic of the possibilities of the work being finished within a limited period. Nevertheless, even then I felt that it would have been impossible with the insufficient data that could be collected to have attempted a survey of this character within the time limit imposed. Before the expiry of the three months, the late Sir P. Rajagopalachariayar, who had become the Dewan, asked me laughingly one day about the progress made in the survey. I explained to him that

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nothing could be done and my colleague and I asked to be relieved of the work till such time as Government realised the magnitude and the weight of the task. Sir P. Rajagopalachari was hardly a person who could be characterised as ignorant of the practical aspect of such a survey. But he dropped the question, to put it in his own characteristic way, 'like a hot potato'. There the question has since remained. Later on, when Mr. Krishnan Nayar was the Dewan, I obtained his permission to undertake a limited survey of the southern frontier of Travancore with the assistance of my colleagues, for the purpose of making a comparative study of the pressure of taxation and the means of subsistence and the standards of life on both sides of our frontier lines, having obtained a similar permission from the British authorities. Unfortunately, this scheme also fell through, because none of my overworked assistants was prepared to sacrifice a vacation for the purpose of undertaking a survey of this character, particularly when no inducements in the way of allowances, etc. were offered for the work. The matter then dropped. In 1925, it came up again, casually, as the result of a resolution moved in this House. On that occasion, the House itself realised that it was not altogether a business proposition and threw out the resolution after a full discussion, and the matter has come up for a fourth time before the House with the proposition brought up yesterday by Mr. Damodaran Asan.

I have given a short history of the question in order that it may be known that it is not a new one nor an easy one to solve. I trust also I have made it clear that my attitude towards it has been one of sympathy. Reference has been made to my conversation with Mr. Asan for the purpose of getting his resolution modified. May I explain why I undertook it? It was because I was particularly anxious that the question of this character should not be prejudiced, and that an Economic Survey should not be adjourned again *sine die*, by the defective wording of Mr. Asan's resolution, and by any imperfect perception of the nature of an economic survey and of the manner in which it may be well done or ill done, to the good of the country or to the detriment of the country. This was why I requested Mr. Asan to talk the matter over with me and in the interview I endeavoured to get him to see the need to amend his proposition. I took even the liberty of approaching the Head of the Administration yesterday, after meeting Mr. Asan, in order that I might obtain a modification of the position which Government had originally resolved to take in the matter. These are matters which I am compelled to mention to the House today, because of what has been said and implied in the course of the discussion in this House on the subject. My explanation would have been quite unnecessary but for certain statements, which have been made and which appear to suggest that, while every one was or is anxious to have this survey undertaken, I am alone endeavouring to prevent the House from sanctioning it. Let me assure the House I have absolutely

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no desire to prevent or to persuade the House to prevent the starting of an Economic Survey. On the other hand, let me repeat that I would be glad if the work is done. To use the Americanism which I used yesterday, it is not "my funeral". I have no interest in the matter but public interest. I am not asking the difficulties of the survey to be visualised only because I fear that the work might be thrust upon me. I am sure I shall have nothing to do with the survey if it is now undertaken. The exposition of the Government position has been entrusted to me simply because I happen to know a little about the character of an Economic Survey and perhaps of my previous connection with the question. In spite of Mr. Damodaran Asan, and perhaps of practical Economists like Mr. Karunakaran, who has such a profound contempt for the arm-chair-economist, I might be permitted to tell the House that I am not altogether unfamiliar with either the theory or the practice of Economic Surveys, and that though, like Mr. Karunakaran, I am not conversant with *all* the German Economic Literature of which he has the exclusive possession, what little I have done in the way of economic research may be known to other arm-chair economists like me, in other parts of India, and may even be known to persons who are not altogether amateur politicians or practical economists. I must be forgiven for saying this, but the statement has been forced from me after we had been treated to the eloquent and irrelevant talk of the character we have had yesterday and today. The way in which the discussion of this question has been conducted hitherto, Sir, reminded me of the old saying that when a particular type of advocate has a bad case to argue in court, he tries to strengthen it by abusing the advocate on the other side.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: He generally weakens it.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): He may or he may not, Sir. That would depend largely upon the character of the judge and the character of the jury before whom the case is argued. If there was more understanding of human nature that kind of tactics would not be so widely indulged in. However, I might repeat that I have been reminded of this old saying during this discussion because some of the speakers on the other side have stated with emphasis that I had brought forward no arguments at all, against the resolution, and some of them have even been good enough to say that I had shown inability to understand the arguments brought up by the other side. It has even been said that I could not understand what an Economic Survey meant and that the Government whom I have the honour to represent in this discussion is not prepared to view sympathetically a scheme for an economic survey. Members on the other side—some of them at least—appear to enjoy an amount of freedom which the Government do not enjoy. Such members can say one thing and plead that they meant another. They can argue, as it has been argued today, that the economic survey outlined in Mr. Asan's resolution should be immediately undertaken, because the

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resolution indicates a *partial* survey restricted to some problems or to a small part of the State, ignoring the transparent aim of the resolution for an *immediate* survey of the *entire* economic field of the State. If they are to play the game, Government cannot afford to accept the resolution worded in a particular way and interpreted in a different way and leave it to others afterwards to interpret their acceptance of the resolution. The English language is not the monopoly of either the Council or of any member of this House. We on this side of the House, who have to speak on behalf of the Government, can only take resolutions literally and interpret English words in their ordinary sense.

Mr. Damodaran Asan has made considerable play over my reference to the *small amendment viz.*, the substitution of 'in' for 'of' in his resolution.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): My friend has taken a long time on the consequence of the alteration of two letters than myself.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): Quite so. I admit it. I merely put it, Sir, because Mr. Asan has missed the point. He began his speech on the resolution by endeavouring to coax me and the House by stating that his resolution was an improved and amended form of the resolution which was lost in 1925, that he was meeting me more than halfway and that after this exhibition of the spirit of compromise, it was up to me, on behalf of the Government, to accept his resolution. He claimed that he was going farther than the resolution of 1925 and in some respects not as far as the resolution of that year in order to make his resolution more practicable. What did I ask? I merely followed his example and asked him to go a little further with his conciliation or compromise and accept a very small amendment *viz.* the substitution of 'in' for 'of'. If the cause of misunderstanding lies in my referring to the amendment as *small*, may I submit that I was quite aware of the considerable difference which this substitution makes in the character of Mr. Damodaran Asan's resolution, by converting an impracticable into a practicable proposition, and that my characterisation of the change as *small* refers rather to the two letters than to the spirit. I thought that Mr. Damodaran Asan was making a joke when he suggested it was a small thing that he asked the Government to accept.

Dropping this aspect of the discussion, I might say, Sir, that the the position is very simple and is like this. On behalf of the Government I am at liberty to say that an Economic Survey is a valuable thing and should be done. Speaking for myself personally, I might repeat that as an officer whose service is rapidly running out, I can have no personal interest in either advancing or retarding a motion of this kind, since I cannot be entrusted with the survey of this character at my age and period of service. But, Government

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can accept only an amendment which can be put into effect. I had suggested practical difficulties, real difficulties in accepting the resolution as it stands. I illustrated the difficulties. In this even I have been misunderstood. Might I say, Sir, with the utmost deference that even you did me an injustice this morning when you referred to my speech as containing the assumption that the difficulty of undertaking the survey was that I considered there were no persons in the country who are now fit to be entrusted with the work? This is just the contrary of what I said. I emphasised yesterday that a survey of this character would be welcome to me and to my former pupils, because several of them could be profitably employed by it. There are, I repeat, several men who could undertake and do satisfactorily a work of this character, and they are now in the State.

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Excuse me Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar. What I said was that if the contention was that we have not the necessary staff in the land, let us bring them from outside.

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): My submission is, Sir, that there will be no necessity for such importation. There is plenty of talent in this country both in the educational force and outside it, for this work. There are men who can carry on the survey, whether it is a partial or complete one. All that I have been labouring to make out is this, *viz.*, this work could be well done and it could be also ill-done, and if it is to be well done, in accordance with the resolution, it will be a prohibitively costly and difficult affair. When I said this, it has been assumed that I am ignorant of the value of the Survey and forgetful of my responsibilities. Some of the gentlemen on the other side have spoken of their responsibility as tax-payers, as though *they alone* are so responsible. Sir, so far as responsibility to the people is concerned, there is no difference between this side of the House and the other side, and Government are very much more responsible than anybody else. As a servant of the Government and an old member of this House, I would have failed in my duty, if, knowing as I do the difficulties of undertaking such a survey, I had not warned the House of the consequence of hasty measures.

In this particular case, what is it that I have said, which has been rebutted today? I maintain that this survey, in the terms of the resolution, would take a long time to complete. This has been admitted by the other side. No one has been able to refer to an economic survey of this *wide* character, which has been undertaken and completed within a *short* period. Mr. Damodaran Asan quoted at length from my speech in this Council in 1925. In fairness to me and to the House, he might have quoted more of it or read the whole of it. In 1925, when I said I would welcome an economic survey, I referred to a survey of manageable character. On that occasion, I explicitly referred to certain surveys which had been undertaken in Europe and elsewhere. I referred to Le Play's monumental work which took more than a generation and the publication of which was so expensive that there is no Library

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in India at present in which there is a copy of this publication. I referred to Charles Booth's famous investigation into the life and labour of the city of London. I mentioned that this was done by a Government subsidy by a body of statistical experts led by the greatest statistician then alive *viz.* Booth himself. I think I said that this Survey took about 17 years and by the time that the final volume recapitulating the conclusions of the Survey was published, much of the data recorded in the earlier volumes had come to refer to the historic past than to the actual present. Are not these relevant matters to be referred to today, to justify my position that if you undertake the Survey *once for all* and wish to see it through, with a prohibitively big and costly establishment, by the time you complete the Survey your earlier data would have a historical rather than a practical bearing? Dr. Kunjan Pillai, who has a right to speak with authority on this subject, has agreed with me in pointing out that the difficulty is real, and that if we go on with this Survey as one to be undertaken and finished once for all, without assuming that early investigations will then become of no use to the generation which will see the completion of the Survey, we shall be making a mistake. He pointed out that this was the reason why Sir Visveswarayya's Committee suggested not a single enquiry to be commenced and finished, as Mr. Asan's resolution seems to envisage, but a continuous enquiry which will go on for all time.

Let us assume that what the House and Mr. Asan desire is a continuous enquiry of this character. If it be so, as Dr. Kunjan Pillai pointed out, the cost of the Survey will be a permanent item of the State expenditure. It has been said that I have deliberately exaggerated the cost of such a wholesale survey. If it be a survey, which might be taken up at once, the cost is obvious. Reference has been made to the figures which Sir Visveswaraiyya assumed as the per capita cost of such a recurring survey. As Dr. Kunjan Pillai has shown, the cost of such a recurring Survey to the State might be a lakh or a lakh and a quarter a year. If you are going to know the financial pressure of such a recurring Survey you have to capitalise this amount and if you capitalise it, is the final estimate of the cost of such a Survey very different from what it was assumed that I had said such an *ad hoc* Survey would imply, even if it was not to be of a recurring character. As regards a non-recurring Survey, my position, Sir, has been this. The State consists, I believe, of about 30 Taluks. I estimate that a very large number of people will have to be employed if the work is to go on simultaneously. Such a simultaneous employment of a very large number of people, under a single director is attended with grave difficulties of a practical character. A limit is imposed on the size of a team, which is engaged in team-work, if its work is to be satisfactory. A team of more than 7 or 8 people cannot ordinarily do good scientific work. If you have more people, they get out of hand. If you limit the size of the team, which undertakes the

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work you will be extremely lucky if you finish one taluk in the course of a year. If that be so it will take a generation to finish the State. The experience of our Land Revenue settlement has been referred to in this connection. Settlement investigations are not as comprehensive nor are they as thorough as an Economic Survey. Nevertheless, it is well known that *our* settlement operations extended over a whole generation and had to be hurriedly finished by a Dewan who admitted that the figures calculated in the earlier years of settlement were already so obsolete that they could not be depended upon. I have always understood since then that both Government and the people have a nervous dread of undertaking a re-settlement of this prolonged character. Do we require an Economic Survey of this prolonged character? Are we to undertake an Economic Survey which is to be completed in 30 years and each year spend about a lakh of rupees? The estimate that the cost of the Survey of a recurring character calculated on a 25 rupees per head basis, will come to a lakh and a quarter, is on the assumption again of a stationary population. Our population has been increasing by a sixth every decade. Three decades will pass before the Survey is completed as above. It is only the solution of a small question in arithmetic to find out whether, providing for a growth in population of this character and assuming Sir Visveswarayya's *per capita* estimate of the cost, my estimate of 50 lakhs as the ultimate cost of such a Survey is very wide of the mark?

Sir, I do not want to pursue this point any further. I wish merely to say that while I do not claim any infallibility for my estimates which were made on the spur of the moment, it is unfair to suggest that I gave deliberately exaggerated figures for the purpose of frightening the Council or Mr. Asan. I know that Mr. Asan has the courage of his views and is not to be easily frightened, particularly, when, to use Mr. K. P. Nilakanta Pillai's expression, there are lions on the path and the lion happens to be not Mr. Asan's own professor. What I have desired to submit to the House is that when they are asked to commit themselves to a resolution, which may result in an expenditure of public money, the House has a right to know what the immediate and what the ultimate cost to the exchequer is likely to be. We have been told today over and over again that a lakh and a quarter is very small amount and that the House would very gladly vote it for such a purpose as the Economic Survey. I am delighted to recollect this assurance. I am overcome with gratification in hearing the assurance of the members that a lakh and a quarter is, in the mind of the House, a trifle. To me, it is a very large sum which would be regarded with ecstasy by some minor Departments. A sum of that character, if given to Mr. Chacko or Dr. Kunjan Pillai, would enable them to launch forward very useful programmes of industrial and agrarian reforms, the results of which will be both tangible and immediate.

I wish to repeat that the Council must know what it is in for when it accepts Mr. Asan's resolution. This is why I have made my statement. I have stated what I have honestly felt. If I were asked to undertake the work, I would not stake my reputation by agreeing to do it as a wholesale enquiry.

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[Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar.]

Before I conclude I wish to be allowed to offer an explanation of a small matter. Much capital has been made, in the course of the discussion from the other side, of an alleged difference between the Economic Development Board and me on this question. Dr. Kunjan Pillai has already clarified this matter. All that I wish to say now is that the reference of the Government to me was not as a teacher of Economics but as Principal of the Arts College. The Economic Development Board wished to undertake an inexpensive Economic Survey which could be conducted without any additional staff or expenditure. They suggested that the staff of the Arts College, of which I was the Principal, engaged in the teaching of Economics should along with their students be deputed to do this Survey as a vacation exercise with no other emoluments except compensation leave and travelling allowances. I objected to this scheme on two grounds. I said that the Survey needed a whole-time staff if it was to be properly done and not a part-time staff consisting of over-worked Professors and students. Secondly, I objected to the suggestion that the Survey should be done with the co-operation of the students as I considered the association of immature and unripe students in an enquiry of this character to be prejudicial to its scientific value, though I had myself once conducted an investigation with the aid of students and the resulting investigation had been applauded, I knew from experience the weakness of such an enquiry conducted with the help of students, and therefore urged that their co-operation should not be requisitioned. To me the suggestion appeared to be something like the obsolete pupil-teacher system followed in Normal Schools, which lead to disastrous results both to the pupils and to the teachers. I do not want a pupil-teacher system of this kind to be perpetuated in the field of Economic Science. I did not say to the Government that the Survey of the character recommended by the Board was not wanted. What I pleaded for was both the Survey and a whole-time Survey party. If the Government or the Economic Development Board had asked me to place some of my Professors on special duty for the work, I should gladly have agreed. What I did say however was that the over-worked Professors could not be asked to do more work. This was my position. This is still my position. There has been no difference of opinion between me and the Board in regard to the value of an Economic Enquiry. Our difference of opinion was not on Economic matters. They related merely to the *modus operandi*, *i. e.*, the manner in which the Survey should be conducted. If I might say so, we differed not as Economists but as administrators and I think the Government decided the question on administrative lines when they vetoed the recommendation of the Board to refer the resolution and my views to others.

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): What were the typical villages chosen by the Economic Development Board?

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: It is a side issue.

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RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Ag. Director of Public Instruction*): The list is in the file. I have had no doubt that the seven villages were chosen by the Board for valid reasons. What I said was not that they were chosen at random but that in fairness to the person who would undertake the Survey, he should be asked to choose the villages, which after preliminary enquiry, he deemed to be typical. You cannot make a shoe without measuring the foot. He who wears a shoe will know where it pinches. To me it seems that the person appointed to do the Survey must be given the responsibility to decide which villages he should start with. The Development Board said we should start with seven specified villages. I said that that the verdict of the Board had to be re-examined by the expert. This is all which is relevant to the consideration of the resolution before the House today.

May I before I conclude say, Sir, that so far as Government are concerned, they made it clear through me that they viewed the question of the Economic Survey with very great sympathy. It is because of the sympathetic attitude and because I wished to avoid an unnecessary discussion and prevent side issues cropping up and because I wished to avoid personal references, that I suggested an amendment to Mr. Asan's resolution.

I did so in the best interests of the Economic enquiry itself and of the State. If an impossible resolution is placed before the Government, the Government cannot be blamed if they are unable to accept it. If the House accepts the amendment which I have suggested, Government would do their best to give effect to the wishes of the House as far as practicable. The members on the other side including, Sir, your Honoured self, supported this resolution and I was obliged to differ. I felt that I had to do so mainly on this account. Every one of us, official or non-official, has to be equally sensitive about the prestige of this House. What is done in this House will receive the careful attention of the Government. I wanted that the House should not diminish its prestige by sending up to the Government a defective resolution. I sympathised with the object of Mr. Damodaran Asan and wanted him to present a good resolution by asking him to put it in the form in which it will be more acceptable. My object is not and has never been to condemn the resolution. If I had wished to condemn it I should have used other arguments and allowed an accumulation of prejudice to gather round the resolution. I have not done so. In fairness to the House of which I have long been a member, of which I have the privilege of being now the member with the longest service, I felt that I would not be doing my duty if I failed to render this service. I felt that I would not be true to the country if I failed to do this duty however disagreeable it proved to be. This is what I have done. This is what has been characterised as a downright opposition of the resolution. The House is now to judge and will judge. I have been in this country for over 27 years and have learnt to love it. I would not allow even Mr. Damodaran Asan to say that his love for this land is a bit more than mine. Whether I am as ignorant as Mr. Asan would consider me to be, I am at least undeniably older. I have felt that it would be unpardonable to rush to

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[Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar.]

hasty decisions and establish anything but precedents which would be of a wholesome character. I have felt that the House should not be persuaded by irrelevant appeals of an emotional character in deciding upon a business proposition. It is on these grounds and for these reasons that I have spoken out with frankness and I trust with due humility. The decision is in the hands of the House. I can say no more than that by that decision the House will be adjudged. It will achieve just what that decision can achieve.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): I press the resolution.

The resolution was then put to the vote and carried.

MR. A. S. DAMODARAN ASAN (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*) I demand a poll.

A poll was taken with the following results.

AYES—32.

1.	Mr. V. Chellam Pillai	17.	Mr. Muruvelil Pachu Pillai
2.	,, A. S. Damodaran Asan	18.	,, K. Padmanabha Panikkar
3.	,, D. Francis	19.	,, K. G. Paramesvaran Pillai
4.	,, A. G. Menon	20.	,, S. Piraviperumal Pillai
5.	,, Ittoop Itteechan	21.	,, L. R. Raja Raja Varma Koil Tampuran
6.	,, D. C. Joseph	22.	,, R. Raman Pillai
7.	,, K. C. Karunakaran	23.	,, Revati Nal Rama Varma Raja
8.	,, K. N. Kesavan Namputiripad	24.	,, A. Thanu Pillai
9.	,, R. Kesava Pillai	25.	Mrs. Elizabeth Kuruvila
10.	,, T. C. Kesava Pillai	26.	Mr. K. Madhavan Pillai
11.	,, Tamarapallil Kochutomman	27.	,, K. Madhavan
12.	,, N. K. Krishna Pillai	28.	,, H. B. Mahomed Rowther.
13.	,, Matthew Murikkan	29.	,, V. S. Krishna Pillai
14.	,, G. P. Nilakanta Pillai	30.	,, Tariatu Kunjitomman
15.	,, K. P. Nilakanta Pillai	31.	,, A. C. Kuriakose
16.	,, V. J. Oommen	32.	,, L. A. Lampard

NOES 14.

1.	Mr. Kayalam Paramesvaran Pillai	7.	Mr. I. C. Chacko
2.	,, K. N. Ramasubba Aiyar	8.	,, R. Dhanukoti Pillai
3.	,, P. N. Krishna Pillai	9.	,, S. C. H. Robinson
4.	,, K. George	10.	,, R. Vaidyalingam Pillai
5.	,, T. P. Ramasubba Aiyar	11.	Rao Sahib Dr. N. Kunjan Pillai
6.	Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar	12.	Mr. V. Arunachalam Aiyar
		13.	,, P. Gomatinayakam Pillai
		14.	Dr. K. Raman Tampi

NEUTRAL—1

Mr. P. S. Mahomed.

The resolution was declared carried.

The Council adjourned at 5-21 P. M.

T. P. RAMASUBBA AIYAR,
Secretary to the Legislative Council.

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